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FATHER PIERRE CHAZELLE, S.J., 1789-1845

By

Francis X. Curran*

With the millions of immigrants who swarmed to the American shores in the nineteenth century there came hundreds of European priests. How many there were we do not know. Of the great migration of the nations they formed but a tiny fraction. Some few were drones, but the great majority were willing workers. With their toil and their sweat they built churches and convents and schools. When they came to die, their memory was interred with their bones. It could not have been otherwise. So many were the laborers who built the tremendous edifice of the American Church that we, who gaze upon their monument, cannot say who constructed this buttress, who raised that pier. But we, who have inherited the results of their labors, should not altogether forget the great builders.

Pierre Chazelle was one. In the dozen provinces of the Society of Jesus between the Rio Grande and Hudson's Bay there are not a dozen Jesuits who recognize his name. Yet he was the pioneer who plowed the first furrow, planted the first seed whence sprang four of these provinces numbering well over 3,000 Jesuits. The name of Pierre Chazelle should not be forgotten.

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Not many details of Chazelle's early life are known.[1] He was born at Montbrison, a town not far from Lyons, on January 12 of the fateful year 1789. Somehow, in the turmoil of the French Revolution and the Terror and the Napoleonic Wars, young Pierre managed to get an education. The concordat between Napoleon and Pius VII permitted the reopening of the seminaries and Pierre apparently received his ecclesiastical training in the seminary of his native town. There he taught for a short time after his ordination to the priesthood, then he took charge of a rural parish. He was the chaplain of a military school when his application for admission to the Society of Jesus was accepted. On March 1, 1822, Chazelle, age thirty-three, entered the Jesuit novitiate.[2]

The Society of Jesus, formally re-established by Pius VII only eight years before, desperately needed men to carry on its priestly ministries. Consequently, Chazelle was allowed to remain in the noviceship only about six months. In the autumn of 1822 he took the road to Paris to assume the chair of professor of dogmatic theology in the Jesuit scholasticate there. A year later he travelled to the town of Montmorillon, near Poitiers in west central France, where the Society of Jesus had recently opened a college. There Chazelle remained for five years, first as minister and then as rector of the college. His term of office did not come to a peaceful close. Growing anti-clericalism in turbulent France made the very existence of Chazelle's college doubtful. The expected blow fell in June, 1828, when Chazelle received the news that the government had decreed the abolition of all the Jesuit schools in France. Possibly Chazelle realized that the closing of the colleges but foreshadowed more drastic and dramatic developments. In the July heat of 1830 the revolutionary ferment in Paris exploded. One of the first actions of the revolutionary government was to expel from France the Society of Jesus.[3]

Only a few years before, Jesuit superiors had not known where they would get the men to staff their works in France. Now their problem was to find profitable employment for the men they had.

[1] Details of Chazelle's early life are taken from an unsigned sketch, written in 1864, in the Archives of Woodstock College (hereafter AWC), "Notice sur le P. Pierre Chazelle." Other details are in Edouard Lecompte, *Les Jésuites du Canada au XIX siècle* (Montreal, 1920), pp. 27 ff.

[2] *Catalogus Provinciae Galliae, 1834*, p. 45.

[3] On developments in France cf. Joseph Burnichon, *Histoire d'un siècle* (Paris, 1914), I, 377 ff.; 528 ff.

The Jesuit provincial thought of Kentucky. For long years Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget of Bardstown had been appealing to all quarters for Jesuits to come to his diocese. Learning of the June decrees of 1828, he once more got in touch with the French Jesuits and offered them his St. Joseph's College in his cathedral town of Bardstown.[4] The events of 1828 had made the French provincial favorably inclined to the bishop's offer; the July Revolution of 1830 decided him to accept.

On November 19, 1830, Pierre Chazelle, named the first superior of the French Jesuit mission in North America, sailed with two other priests and a brother from Bordeaux. Their destination was Bardstown.[5] It can be assumed that the Jesuits' voyage over the wintry Atlantic was stormy. Certainly it was tedious. With only a brief stop-over at a West Indian island, where the fathers seized the opportunity to exercise their ministry, their ship was at sea for two and a half months. It must have been with feelings of relief as well as anticipation that the little party of weary travellers, on February 7, 1831, descended the gangplank at New Orleans.

There the four Jesuits fell into the welcoming arms of Bishop Leo de Neckere. Like Flaget, the Bishop of New Orleans had been trying to get the Jesuits to come and assist him in his diocese.[6] With a group of the fathers actually in his see city, the bishop was not above trying his hand at a bit of ecclesiastical kidnapping. It was not too difficult to persuade Chazelle that mid-winter was no time to travel up the Mississippi. Even if there had been steamboats hardy enough to brave the river ice, the Jesuits had had enough of boats. And a horse-back ride through a thousand miles of mud and snow was enough to make the most rugged frontiersman shudder. No doubt Chazelle heard episcopal descriptions of the filth and the vermin of the inns and the more bloody exploits of the bandits of the Natchez Trace. In any event, Chazelle decided to await in New

[4] Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu (hereafter ARSI), "Notice sur l'etablissement des PP. Jésuites à Ste. Marie près de Bardstown dans le Kentucky, depuis son origine en 1832 jusqu'au mois d'août 1838." For other references cf. the author's "The Jesuits in Kentucky, 1831-1846," *Mid-America*, XXXV (October, 1953), 223-246.

[5] ARSI, Chazelle to John Roothaan, S.J., July 30, 1831. Roothaan was General of the Society of Jesus from 1829 to 1853.

[6] Gilbert J. Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938), III, 129-134.

Orleans the spring thaw which would reopen the navigation of the Mississippi. The Bishop of New Orleans found plenty of work to keep the fathers busy. Chazelle's priest companions had both been in the United States before, and both spoke English. One took temporary charge of a priestless parish and the other preached a series of Lenten sermons in St. Louis Cathedral of New Orleans. Chazelle, who as yet spoke no English, occupied his time by giving retreats to French-speaking congregations of nuns in the diocese.[7]

In the intervals between retreats Chazelle probably heard episcopal disquisitions on the great field of labor open to the Society of Jesus in the Diocese of New Orleans. De Neckere was quite willing to match the offers of Flaget. Since the Bishop of Bardstown had promised the society a college, so did the Bishop of New Orleans. The offers in Louisiana looked more attractive when news from Kentucky reached Chazelle. On his arrival in the United States, Chazelle had written to inform Bishop Flaget of the Jesuits' coming and their prospective journey to Bardstown in the spring. The Kentucky bishop was extremely pleased at the news; he was even more surprised.[8] He had learned that the French provincial had reacted favorably to his overtures in 1828 and had intended to approach the Jesuit general about the matter. Since then the bishop had received no word and did not know of or expect the coming of Chazelle. Flaget, nevertheless, made it clear that the Jesuits would be more than welcome. But their arrival raised a problem. Since he had not expected them, the bishop had staffed St. Joseph's College with his own secular clergy, and he could not now see his way clear to terminate the arrangement and give the school to the Jesuits for at least two years. This news gave Chazelle some reflective moments; he was even more disturbed by other reports on the condition and the prospects of the Bardstown college.[9] Consequently, when the spring thaw arrived Bishop de Neckere had secured his Jesuits. Chazelle assigned two of his companions to remain in the Diocese of New Orleans. With the third he began the long trip up river on April 23, 1831.[10]

[7] ARSI, "Notice"; Chazelle to Roothaan, July 30, 1831.

[8] ARSI, Flaget to Julien Druilhet, S.J., June 28, 1831. Druilhet was, at the time, Provincial of the French Jesuits.

[9] ARSI, Chazelle to Druilbert, June 17, 1831; Chazelle to Roothaan, July 30, 1881.

[10] ARSI, "Notice," "Historia Collegii Kentuckiensis ad Sanctam Mariam ab anno exordii 1828 ad 1 julii 1838."

On May 14, 1831, Bishop Flaget welcomed the Jesuits in his see city of Bardstown. A quick survey of the situation of St. Joseph's College confirmed Chazelle's worst fears. The school was in poor shape: its buildings were inadequate, its students were undisciplined and indifferent scholars, its debts were heavy, its prospects were uninviting. Chazelle believed it would be profitless to remain in Kentucky for two years in the hope of such a gift, and he reported so to Jesuit superiors in Europe.[11] While awaiting an answer which would send them back to Louisiana and Bishop de Neckere, Chazelle and his companion settled down in Bardstown with Bishop Flaget and exercised their ministry in the town and its environs.

In the primitive state of communications between Europe and the Kentucky backwoods, an exchange of letters required months. Long before Chazelle received his instructions from Paris, new developments entirely changed the Jesuits' prospects in Kentucky. Towards the end of July, Father William Byrne, founder, president, and himself most of the faculty of St. Mary's Seminary, offered his school to the Jesuits. Chazelle went to inspect the institution, located on a farm about twenty miles from Bardstown, and he liked very much what he saw. He immediately reported the new offer to Jesuit headquarters and added his strong recommendations that the academy be accepted.[12] Hoping for an affirmative answer, he left Bardstown and, on September 21, 1831, he took up his residence with Byrne at St. Mary's.[13] There he took over the teaching of the classes in French and, at the age of forty-two, began the study of English. When the expected instructions to withdraw from Kentucky arrived, Chazelle delayed his departure until the Jesuit superiors could reconsider their decision on the basis of Byrne's offer. He made quite clear his belief that St. Mary's should be taken over by the society.[14] His explanations and arguments were convincing, for on July 7, 1832, the Jesuit General, John Roothaan, wrote to Chazelle the authorization to accept the school.[15]

[11] ARSI, Chazelle to Druilhet, June 17, 1831; Chazelle to Flaget, May 31, 1831; Chazelle to Roothaan, August 24, 1831.

[12] ARSI, Chazelle to Roothaan, August 24, 1831; Nicholas Petit, S.J., to Roothaan, September 19, 1831. Petit had accompanied Chazelle to Bardstown.

[13] Archives of Fordham University (hereafter AFU), "Diary of St. Mary's," September 21, 1831. ARSI, Chazelle to Roothaan, January 26, 1832.

[14] ARSI, Druilhet to Roothaan, June 11, 1832, cites letters he had received from Chazelle dated January 26, February 5, February 25, and May 5, 1832.

[15] ARSI, Roothaan to Chazelle, July 7, 1832.

Soon thereafter a contingent of reinforcements was gathered in Europe and sent on its way to Kentucky. When the three new priests arrived at St. Mary's, in time to celebrate the Christmas of 1832 in their new home, Chazelle introduced them to two recruits who had come to him from the secular clergy of Bardstown.[16] With a community of six Jesuits, Chazelle, on January 1, 1833, formally initiated the order of time and the customs of a Jesuit college.[17]

St. Mary's Seminary, however, was not yet fully a Jesuit school. To assist the Jesuits' adjustment to the Kentucky backwoods, and to pay off the remaining debts of the school before he deeded it over to the society, Byrne remained at the academy and retained the office of president. He intended to turn the property over to the Jesuits and leave the state before the end of 1833. But the founder left his school sooner than he had anticipated. When the dread Asiatic cholera visited Kentucky in the early summer of 1833, St. Mary's was not spared. A number of the pupils were struck by the plague, and practically all the fathers, continually exposed to the disease in answering the frequent sick-calls, caught the infection. Before the plague had run its course, two of the students, one of the Jesuits, and Father Byrne were dead.[18]

After Byrne's death Chazelle assumed full charge of the academy and reopened it for the fall term with himself as president. He must have acted with some trepidation, for the Jesuits had no legal title to the property. Byrne had died intestate and, to make matters worse, a nephew instituted suit to gain possession of his uncle's property. The matter was not settled for over a year, when the courts rather unexpectedly declared in favor of the Jesuits.[19] The nephew, one report informs us, was consoled by a ruling giving him $170 and a horse.[20] Meanwhile Chazelle's activities were not confined to directing St. Mary's and teaching in its classes. Together with the other priests, he regularly went forth on week-ends to assist in the parishes of the neighborhood.[21] These apostolic trips through the

[16] AFU, "Diary," December 22, 1832.
[17] *Ibid.*, January 1, 1833.
[18] *Ibid.*, June 5-10, 1833. ARSI, "Notice," "Historia."
[19] ARSI, Thomas Legouais, S.J., to Druilhet, July 22, 1833; Chazelle to Roothaan, August 26, 1833, August 24, 1834, December 8, 1836. AFU, "Diary," July 23, 1833. Legouais was one of the early Jesuits in Kentucky.
[20] AWC, "Chazelle."
[21] AFU, "Diary," *passim*.

Kentucky woods were not without incident. Once Chazelle, benighted and lost in the forest, was brought to safety by the homing instinct of his horse.[22]

In his first years at St. Mary's Chazelle must often have thought that the perils of the wilderness were far less than the dangers of the school. On one occasion he was just in time to prevent a battle between two armed groups of students.[23] After a fight between two of the boys which ended in a stabbing, he felt compelled to revive the ancient Jesuit ban on the carrying of arms by students.[24] On returning from a trip he saw, where had stood the college dormitory, a heap of smouldering ruins. Two students, their hot blood angered by what they considered an unjust punishment, had used the arsonist's torch to gain their revenge.[25] The moonshine of the Kentucky hills also caused its problems. Somehow Chazelle found within himself the power to forgive the drunken student who threatened him with a pistol.[26] But when the youth, in spite of his tearful promises of total abstinence, once more appeared reeling at the college, Chazelle, certainly not without a shudder, dismissed him from the school. Thereafter the regulations against drinking were interpreted more severely. When seven bleary-eyed and sheepish young men returned to the school on their release from the local jail, they received their summary dismissal.[27]

In spite of these early incidents, Chazelle, in the course of time, created at St. Mary's a notable school. Due to its secluded location, the institution never had many day students. Its strength was in the number of its boarders, which mounted from forty-five in 1834 to 125 in 1840, Chazelle's last year as president.[28] Through agents and newspaper advertisements, Chazelle attracted students from a wide area; many came from Louisiana and a sizeable contingent from

[22] *Ibid.*, June 23, 1833.
[23] *Ibid.*, February 2, 1837.
[24] AFU, "Minutes of the Trustees of St. Mary's College," July 12, 1838.
[25] *Ibid.*, "Diary," December 30-31, 1833, April 8, 1834.
[26] *Ibid.*, September 25, 1836.
[27] *Ibid.*, December 1, 1838.
[28] ARSI, Chazelle to Roothaan, February 24, 1834; William Murphy, S.J., to Roothaan, June 19, 1840. Murphy was Chazelle's successor as superior of the Jesuits in Kentucky.

Cuba and Mexico.[29] Under Byrne, St. Mary's had never been more than an academy; under Chazelle the curriculum of the school was quickly extended and strengthened. While the secondary division was maintained, Chazelle introduced the full curriculum of a liberal arts college, with himself occupying the chair of "mental philosophy."[30] In the prospectus published in the summer of 1836, Chazelle altered the name of the institution to St. Mary's College.[31] The changed status of the school was legally recognized when, after the legislature passed it almost unanimously, the Governor of Kentucky, on January 21, 1837, signed the charter of St. Mary's College.[32]

As time went by, the activities of the Jesuits extended out of St. Mary's in ever widening circles. Over the course of the years Chazelle and his associates gave increasing numbers of retreats and parish missions to priests, nuns, and the laity in the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and Indiana.[33]

As the 1830's drew to a close, Father Chazelle wished to commit the Jesuits to a new field of activity. It was clear that Bardstown would always remain a sleepy little village. The most important urban center of Kentucky was the growing city of Louisville, which obviously should be the seat of the Catholic bishop. In Louisville Chazelle desired to establish, not merely another college for extern students, but a central seminary, staffed by the Jesuits, for all the dioceses of the Middle West.[34] Chazelle's ambitious plan received the support not only of Bishop Flaget, but of the French provincial who was ready to find the men to conduct the proposed seminary.[35] The Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore, summoned to meet in May, 1840, offered a ready opportunity to test the reactions of the

[29] AFU, "Diary," March 1, 1834, June 10, June 17, 1835. AWC, Murphy to Francis Dzierosynski, S.J., October 14, 1840. Dzierosynski was a prominent member of the Province of Maryland.

[30] AFU, "Minutes of the Trustees," February 2, 1837.

[31] *Ibid.*, "Diary," June 21, 1836.

[32] ARSI, Chazelle to Roothaan, March 10, 1837.

[33] *Ibid.*, Chazelle to Roothaan, January 26, 1835, November 24, 1836, December 8, 1836.

[34] *Ibid.*, "Note sur l'establissement de Louisville, Kentucky," and "Une seminaire dans l'Ouest des Etats-Unis."

[35] *Ibid.*, Achiles Guidée, S.J., to Roothaan, November 10, 1840. Guidée was provincial of the Province of Paris. ARSI contains a copy of the printed letter that Flaget circulated among his friends in Europe to gain support for the project.

other bishops to the plan. Consequently, Chazelle accompanied Bishop Flaget to the council in the capacity of his theologian. But while the fathers of the council were ready to approve the translation of the See of Bardstown to Louisville, they were not interested even in discussing the proposed central seminary.[36] Nor were the Jesuits in Kentucky very keen about the plan; Chazelle's successor as superior of the Jesuit mission was definitely against it.[37]

On June 29, 1840, after ten years of office, Chazelle laid down the double burden of the superiorship of the Kentucky mission and the rectorship of St. Mary's College.[38] He was worn by the labors of the long years and the recurrent bouts of sickness which had plagued him during his time in Kentucky. He was at first detailed to the task of preaching retreats and missions, but this assignment proved only temporary. Bishop Flaget continued to press the campaign for the seminary in Louisville, or at least the Jesuit college there, and he wanted to send Chazelle to Europe as his emissary to explain the project in the proper quarters.[39] At the bishop's urgent request, the new Jesuit superior released Chazelle for the task. On December 17, 1840, Chazelle left St. Mary's enroute to Rome.[40] He reached the Eternal City in April, 1841, and submitted to the General of the Jesuits, and probably to others, memoranda on the proposed seminary and the Jesuit college in Louisville.[41] And it was in Rome that Chazelle ran across Bishop Ignatius Bourget of Montreal.

It was not the first time that the two had met. In 1839 Chazelle had received at St. Mary's a letter from one of his former pupils in France, now the superior of the Sulpicians in Montreal, M. Joseph-Vincent Quilbier. Jean Jacques Lartigue, then Bishop of Montreal, and his coadjutor, Bourget, planned to have the first priests' retreat in the Diocese of Montreal and had turned to Quilbier for a retreat master. At his own suggestion Quilbier was commissioned by the bishops to approach his old professor.[42] Chazelle

[36] AWC, "Chazelle." ARSI, Chazelle to Roothan, July 3, 1840.
[37] ARSI, Murphy to Roothaan, June 19, October 10, December 22, 1840.
[38] *Ibid.*, Chazelle to Roothaan, July 3, 1840.
[39] *Ibid.*, Murphy to Roothaan, December 22, 1840.
[40] AFU, "Diary," December 17, 1840.
[41] ARSI, "Note sur l'etablissement de Louisville, Kentucky," and "Une seminaire dans l'Ouest des Etats-Unis."
[42] Lecompte, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

had accepted the invitation and in July, 1839, had made the long and tedious trip to Canada. Between August 20 and August 30 he gave the retreat to eighty-three priests with great success. He did not let slip the opportunity presented by his presence in a land famous in Jesuit history to visit the scenes of the early Jesuits' labors. The presence of the first Jesuit to visit their country since the last member of the old society had died in 1800 stirred the memories of the Canadians. Wherever he went Chazelle received petitions for the Blackrobes' return. Quilbier proposed that the Jesuits take over the college that the Sulpicians were then conducting in connection with their seminary in Montreal.[43] Solid evidence of the Jesuit appeal in Canada followed Chazelle back to Kentucky in the form of two aspirants for the society, one a Sulpician professor of theology, the other a seminarian.[44] Chazelle hastened to point out to the Jesuit general this new door opened to the society in a land renowned in Jesuit annals.[45]

While Roothaan could ignore Chazelle's suggestion, he could not brush aside the reiterated petitions of Bishop Bourget. Soon after he succeeded to the See of Montreal in 1840 Bourget set out for Rome to demand Blackrobes to educate his children and to convert his Indians. To the General of the Jesuits he presented his *Appel aux Jésuites*, dated July 2, 1841, a touching document invoking the memory of the Jesuits of the past.[46] To this appeal Roothaan could give but one answer. The bishop was promised his Jesuits.

The quite obvious man to guide the new mission was Pierre Chazelle. Before the final details had been arranged at Rome between the bishop and the general, Chazelle had gone to visit his native land. He received definite news of his new appointment from Bourget and reassured the general that his health was quite good enough to permit him to go to Canada.[47] Until the spring of 1842

[43] ARSI, Chazelle to Roothaan, January 3, 1840.

[44] AWC, "Chazelle."

[45] ARSI, Chazelle to Roothaan, January 3, 1840.

[46] This appeal is printed in Lecompte, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34, and in *Lettres des nouvelles missions du Canada* (n.p., n.d.) in Félix Martin, S.J., to addressee unknown, June 1, 1843. Martin was one of the pioneers of the Canadian mission. Bourget's early requests for Jesuits are in ARSI, Bourget to Roothaan, August 24, 1840, April 19, 1841. A number of pertinent documents are in Leon Pouliot, "Mgr. Bourget et la Compagnie (1840-1844)," *Lettres du Bas-Canada*, VII (Décembre 1953), 248-254.

[47] ARSI, Chazelle to Roothaan, August 23, 1841.

Chazelle remained in France to assemble his men and make preparations for the long journey.[48] On a trip to England he sought to secure an English Jesuit for the Canadian mission.[49] The negotiations, however, fell through. When some French Jesuits, assigned to missionary work on Madagascar, were unable to go to that island, Chazelle secured their services.

On April 24, 1842, Chazelle led a party of nine Jesuits, six priests and three brothers, aboard ship at Le Havre. A month later the pioneers disembarked at New York, and on the last day of May, 1842, the new Jesuit mission to Canada entered the land of Brébeuf and Jogues. Bishop Bourget was there to welcome the Jesuits to Montreal, and he afforded them temporary quarters in his own episcopal residence.[50]

While Chazelle immediately sent his priests out to preach parish missions, he and Bourget discussed the future work of the Jesuits in Canada. While in Rome, the bishop had offered the fathers the college in the little town of Chambly, a few miles from Montreal. When Chazelle visited the institution, he must have recalled St. Joseph's College in Bardstown, for St. Peter's College at Chambly struck him as being as hopeless as the Kentucky school. To the great disappointment of Bourget, he refused the proferred gift.[51] What hopes Chazelle had of the Sulpicians' college in Montreal were soon dashed. The Sulpicians welcomed the Jesuits as brothers and gave to Chazelle a notably large alms; but they were understandably hesitant about turning over their college to the newcomers.[52] It seemed that the Jesuits were not to get a college. The news travelled fast, for Bishop Benedict J. Fenwick down in Boston heard about the impasse and dangled before Chazelle the prospect of a college in his township of Benedicta in Maine.[53]

But another bishop came up with a temporary solution. Michael Power, the pastor of La Prairie, across the river from Montreal,

[48] *Ibid.*, Chazelle to Roothaan, September 3, 1841, April 23, 1842.

[49] *Ibid.*, Chazelle to Roothaan, February 24, February 27, 1842.

[50] *Ibid.*, Chazelle to Roothaan, June 29, 1842. *Lettres des nouvelles missions*, Martin to addressee unknown, June 1, 1843; Remigius Tellier, S.J., to addressee unknown, January 30, 1844. Tellier was one of the pioneer Jesuits in Canada.

[51] ARSI, Chazelle to Roothaan, June 29, 1842; Bourget to Roothaan, July 29, 1842.

[52] *Ibid.*, Chazelle to Roothaan, June 29, 1842.

[53] AWC, Benedict Fenwick to George Fenwick, S.J., July 6, 1842. *Lettres des nouvelles missions*, Martin to addressee unknown, June 1, 1843.

had recently been consecrated in his parish church and was about to leave Lower Canada to occupy his new Diocese of Toronto. He suggested to Bourget that his parish be given to the Jesuits.[54] When the offer was placed before Chazelle he accepted immediately. The area about La Prairie was steeped in Jesuit history. The Blackrobes had settled there as early as 1647; there they had created their first reduction for Iroquois Catholics; there was buried the body of Kateri Tekakawitha. It was in a sense a homecoming, when on July 2, 1842, Chazelle formally took possession of the parish.[55] While he was the official pastor of the parish, Chazelle delegated that responsibility to one of his priests in order to leave himself free to guide the work of his colleagues. La Prairie he made the headquarters of the Jesuit mission in Canada. Thence he sent forth his fathers in answer to the ever increasing demands for parish missions. In less than six months the Jesuits, besides giving a number of retreats, were to preach ten missions and hear over 20,000 confessions.[56] Two of his men Chazelle immediately detached and sent to the Indian tribes in the interior of the Province of Quebec, to learn the language and make a beginning of mission work.[57]

In the meanwhile the parishioners of La Prairie had begun to dream dreams of a Jesuit college in their little village. They approached Chazelle with the proposal that they would build a college provided the Jesuits would staff it.[58] When they found him more than receptive to their plan, a delegation of forty parishioners waited on Bishop Bourget to secure his blessing on the project. The bishop cannot but have felt exasperated. Here Chazelle had refused a going college, only to urge these people on to create still another school which could not but compete with the institutions in Chambly and in Montreal. Quite properly the bishop refused his approval. Possibly to avoid a similar *contretemps*, Bourget publicly announced that the Jesuits would, at the proper time, open a college in Montreal itself. The reaction of the public was, to the great disap-

[54] *Lettres des nouvelles missions*, Tellier to addressee unknown, January 30, 1844. ARSI, Chazelle to Roothaan, June 29, 1842.

[55] *Lettres des nouvelles missions*, Tellier to addressee unknown, January 30, 1844.

[56] ARSI, Chazelle to Roothaan, December 2, 1842.

[57] *Ibid.*, Chazelle to Roothaan, October 23, 1842.

[58] *Ibid.*, Chazelle to Roothaan, July 28, 1842; Bourget to Roothaan, July 29, 1842.

pointment of Chazelle, apathetic.[59] Thus the project of a Jesuit college was temporarily shelved. When the Sulpicians later decided to admit only ecclesiastical students to their college, the way was open for the establishment of a Jesuit school. But by that time Chazelle had passed from the scene.

With a base firmly established at La Prairie, Chazelle felt free to make exploratory trips about Lower Canada and to participate in the work of giving retreats and missions. With the knowledge of English he had gained in Kentucky, he devoted himself particularly to the English soldiers and to the numerous Irish immigrants.[60] In the summer of 1842 he directed the retreat of over 100 priests in the Diocese of Quebec.[61] Soon thereafter he began the long journey up the St. Lawrence to the little village of Toronto. Bishop Power had decided to inaugurate the work of his huge new diocese with a synod. In preparation for the synod, Chazelle preached a retreat to fifteen out of the nineteen priests of the diocese who could manage to come to Toronto.

When Chazelle returned to La Prairie in October, 1842, his head was full of new plans for Jesuit work in Upper Canada. Bishop Power ardently desired the help of the fathers in the Indian missions of his diocese. As a base of operations for the Jesuits he offered Chazelle the parish, composed largely of Irish and French Canadians, in the town of Sandwich, across the river from Detroit. With this church as their headquarters, the fathers could range along the Canadian shores of the Great Lakes and found permanent missions in locations of their own choice. Believing that the mission field among the Indians of Upper Canada was much more promising than that of Quebec, Chazelle was an eager subscriber to the bishop's proposals and urged them on the Jesuit superiors in Europe.[62]

Chazelle did not neglect plans for the Jesuits in Lower Canada. It was important for the future of the Society of Jesus that a permanent foothold be gained in the metropolis of the Province of Quebec. Early in January, 1843, Chazelle detailed two fathers to take up residence with the Bishop of Montreal, and in September

[59] *Ibid.*, Chazelle to Roothaan, May 20, 1843.
[60] Lecompte, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
[61] ARSI, Chazelle to Roothaan, October 23, 1842.
[62] *Ibid.*, Chazelle to Roothaan, October 23, December 2, 1842, January 30, May 20, 1843.

the novitiate, formally opened—without any novices—at La Prairie on July 31, 1843, was installed in a private house in the growing city.[63]

Chazelle was not present for the initiation of the noviceship. Weeks before, impatient to begin the work in Upper Canada, he had left for Toronto to await the arrival from France of two priests assigned to the new Indian mission field. Travelling by way of the Erie Canal to Buffalo, the new recruits reached Toronto and Chazelle on July 24, 1843. Scarcely giving them time to greet the bishop, Chazelle hurried them off to Sandwich. On July 31 Chazelle had the satisfaction of taking possession of the parish which was to be the base of the missions.[64] With the fathers installed at Sandwich, he spent several months exploring the shores and islands of Lake Huron and Lake Erie for possible mission sites. There was a settlement of Iroquois Indians near Detroit and he hurried off to visit them, probably thinking of Jogues, Goupil, and Lalande. But their condition was so squalid and hopeless that he dropped the Iroquois from consideration and determined to direct Jesuit activity to the various tribes of the Algonquin family. In the company of Bishop Power he visited Walpool Island in the Saint Clair River, one of the waterways connecting Lakes Huron and Erie, where a large settlement of about 1,000 Indians was situated. Here he determined to establish the first Indian mission of the new Society of Jesus in Canada.[65]

Back at La Prairie in October, 1843, Chazelle matured his plans. The Jesuits had come to Canada to conduct schools and to convert Indians. It was obvious to Chazelle that the work of education could best be done in Quebec and the missionary work in Upper Canada. In the tremendous area of Canada, distances were so great and communications so slow and difficult that it seemed wise to divide these Jesuit functions into different jurisdictions. On July 31, 1844, the General of the Jesuits signed a decree dividing the new mission into two sections, that of Lower and that of Upper Canada.[66] Relieved of responsibility for Jesuit effort in Quebec, Chazelle, named the first superior of Upper Canada, was able to devote all his time to the work of the Indian missions.

[63] *Ibid.*, Chazelle to Roothaan, January 30, April 11, May 20, August 8, September 11, 1843.

[64] *Ibid.*, Chazelle to Roothaan, August 8, 1843.

[65] *Ibid.*, Chazelle to Roothaan, September 11, November 6, 1843.

[66] *Catalogus provinciae Franciae, 1845*, p. 48.

Before the division had been made, Chazelle had left La Prairie for the West. He had summoned the two Jesuits from the Indian missions in Quebec and had sent them on to the new missionary base at Sandwich.[67] In the early spring of 1844, Chazelle had the satisfaction of establishing the Jesuit mission on Walpool Island.[68] Thereafter he ranged farther afield in his quest for another mission site. In the course of his voyaging he visited the Indian settlements on Manitoulin Island at Georgian Bay in upper Lake Huron, the location of a Jesuit mission in the seventeenth century.[69] Struck by the possibilities of the island, he created the second Jesuit mission there in June, 1844.[70] On his return to Sandwich he received the disquieting report that the Jesuits were in danger of expulsion from Walpool Island. A number of the Indians were violently opposed to the work of the Blackrobes and, at a council held in mid-July, they had convinced the Indian chiefs that the Jesuits should be compelled to leave. At Chazelle's instigation another Indian council was summoned for July 31, when, speaking through an interpreter, Chazelle was able to persuade the assembled red men to permit the fathers to remain and to continue their work.[71] In the months that followed, the Jesuit superior sought opportunities to exercise his own missionary zeal. At Port Sarnia, at the exit of Lake Huron, he labored so successfully that a small congregation of Indians was formed and the little town was made a sub-station of the Walpool Island mission.[72]

While he could properly take satisfaction in the work of the missions, Father Chazelle was hampered by a lack of personnel. To staff his various establishments he had but four priests and two brothers. Prospects appeared a bit brighter in the summer of 1845 when two more priests were assigned to the Upper Canada mission

[67] ARSI, Chazelle to Roothaan, November 6, 1843.

[68] *Lettres des nouvelles missions*, Nicholas Point, S.J., to addressee unknown, May 10, 1844; Chazelle to addressee unknown, July 15, September 8, 1844. Point was one of the missionaries to the Indians.

[69] ARSI, Chazelle to Roothaan, June 20, 1844.

[70] *Lettres des nouvelles missions*, Jean Choné, S.J., to addressee unknown, July 16, 1844. Choné was in charge of the mission on Manitoulin Island.

[71] ARSI, Chazelle to Roothaan, November 10, 1844. *Lettres des nouvelles missions*, Chazelle to addressees unknown, August 10, September 8, 1844, January 24, 1845.

[72] *Ibid.*, Chazelle to Roothaan, June 20, 1844. *Lettres des nouvelles missions*, Chazelle to addressees unknown, July 15, November 11, 1844.

and Chazelle had the opportunity to explain his plans to the general's personal delegate, Clement Boulanger, who visited Sandwich in July, 1845.[73] With the approval of Boulanger, Chazelle decided to begin yet a third Jesuit mission at a place famous in Jesuit annals, Sault Sainte Marie.[74] The Sault, on the waterway between Lake Huron and Lake Superior, had first been visited by Isaac Jogues in 1641, and with it were linked the names of Menard and Allouez, Dablon and Marquette. Shortly after the departure of Boulanger for the East, Chazelle, on August 18, 1845, boarded ship enroute to the Sault to preach a parish mission to the Catholics there and to prepare the way for the establishment of the future Indian mission.

Since he was unable to get transportation directly to his destination, Chazelle seized the opportunity to visit Green Bay in Wisconsin, the scene of labors of Blackrobes of the Old Society, in order to investigate the possibilities of a further Indian mission there. While in the town of Green Bay Father Chazelle suddenly fell sick and was compelled to take to bed in the home of a hospitable Catholic family. On hearing the news that a ship had unexpectedly come into the port and was sailing immediately for Sault Sainte Marie, the sick man forced himself from the bed and struggled down to the shore, only to see the sails of the ship sinking over the horizon. Faithful to the end in his endeavors to fulfill his duty, Chazelle had made his last effort. Carried back to his sick room, he received the last sacraments and on September 4, 1845, he died.[75]

The death of Pierre Chazelle lacked the comfort of the presence of his brethren. In a sense it was typical of his life, that of the pioneer facing ever new horizons, the trail-breaker going before to open the way for the coming of his colleagues. Many were the new paths he had blazed, many were the new works to which he had set his hand. Some of the seed he scattered seemed to have fallen on rocky ground. A year after his death his brethren were to abandon Kentucky. His Indian missions were never even remotely to approach

[73] *Ibid.*, Boulanger to Roothaan, August 20, 1845; Boulanger to Chazelle, August 8, 1845.

[74] *Ibid.*, Boulanger to Chazelle, August 8, 1845.

[75] Accounts of Chazelle's last days and death are in ARSI, Point to Roothaan, September 25, 1845; Boulanger to Roothaan, September 21, 1845; *Lettres des nouvelles missions*, Jean Jaffré, S.J., to addressee unknown, September 16, 1845. Jaffré was a missionary at Sandwich.

the glorious missions of the Old Society. Yet the seed Chazelle had planted with so much toil and in so many travels has taken root and flourished mightily. The Jesuit mission in Louisiana grew, not without vicissitudes, into the present Province of New Orleans. From the Jesuit mission of Kentucky, transplanted to Fordham, burgeoned the Province of New York, largest in the Society of Jesus. From Chazelle's later labors have grown the two Jesuit provinces of Canada. Chazelle's may have been a lonely death. But if he glimpsed the future, he died content.

St. Francis Xavier Church
New York City

THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 28-30, 1954

The Association's thirty-fifth annual meeting was held at the Hotels Commodore and Roosevelt in New York on December 28-30, 1954, in conjunction with the sixty-ninth annual meeting of the American Historical Association and its affiliated societies. The registration of 129 was thirteen below the 142 who registered at Chicago in the previous Christmas week. There were, however, more than 129 members in attendance since all did not register.

The business meeting was held on Tuesday afternoon, December 28, with President Thomas P. Neill in the chair. The annual reports of the treasurer and secretary were read by Father Henry J. Browne, acting in the absence of Monsignor Cartwright, who was ill, and of Father Ellis, who was kept away by the critical illness of his mother. (Mrs. Ellis died on January 20.) Reports were also made for the Committees on Nominations, the John Carroll Papers, and the John Gilmary Shea Prize, the texts of which are contained in this issue of the REVIEW. On behalf of the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize, the chairman, Father Henry G. J. Beck of Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, announced that the prize had been awarded to Father Philip Hughes for his three-volume work *The Reformation in England* (New York, 1950-1954).

On Wednesday afternoon, December 29, the joint session of our Association with the American Historical Association was held before an audience of approximately 150 on the general subject of "Religious Crises in Sixteenth-Century Europe—East and West." The meeting was presided over by Garret Mattingly of Columbia University. The two papers were read by Oscar Halecki, of Fordham University, who spoke on "The Religious Crisis of the Sixteenth Century in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," and by Lacy Baldwin Smith of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology whose paper was entitled "The Reformation and the End of the Medieval World." The discussion which followed was led by Bohdan Chudoba of Iona College and Wallace K. Ferguson of New York University.

On Thursday afternoon James J. Flynn of Fordham University acted as chairman for the general session on the subject "Land Problems in

Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Ireland," at which papers were read by Samuel J. Fanning of Washington, D. C., on "The Landless Catholics in Eighteenth-Century Ireland," and by Father James A. Reynolds of Archbishop Stepinac High School on "Priests and Peasantry in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland." The discussion leaders at this session were John F. Broderick, S.J., of Weston College and Thomas N. Brown of the University of Notre Dame.

The final session of the three-day meeting was the presidential luncheon on Thursday, December 30, at which President Neill delivered his address, "Juan Donoso Cortés: History and 'Prophecy'," which appeared in the January issue of the REVIEW. The chairman of the luncheon conference was Joseph G. Dwyer of Iona College who replaced Aaron I. Abell, who was unable to be present.

The thirty-sixth annual meeting will be held at the Hotel Mayflower in Washington on December 28-30, 1955. The reports of the officers and committees for 1954 follow.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER:

Financial Statement from December 15, 1953, to December 15, 1954

ACCOUNT I—GENERAL FUND

Investments—December 15, 1953			$6,855.94
Cash on hand—December 15, 1953		$7,109.10	
Receipts:			
Annual dues	$5,535.60		
Income from investments	431.80		
Donations to annual meeting expenses	392.00		
Donations	.50		
Receipts for year		6,359.90	
Total receipts		13,469.00	6,855.94
Disbursements:			
Office expenses:			
Rent of office and telephone service	$ 79.40		
Supplies and sundry	284.63		
Secretary's salary	1,443.47	$1,807.50	

Annual meeting expenses—1953	461.58		
Catholic Historical Review	4,070.00		
Miscellaneous	7.00		
Exchange on checks	.50	6,346.58	
Balance on hand, December 15, 1954		$7,122.42	
Investments, December 15, 1954			$6,855.94

ACCOUNT II—REVOLVING ACCOUNT

Publication of Documents

Cash on hand—December 15, 1953			$2,101.54
Receipts:			
Stock, *United States Ministers to the Papal States*	$13.50		
Stock, *Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States*	13.50		27.00
Total receipts			$2,128.54
Disbursements:			
None			
Balance on hand, December 15, 1954			$2,128.54

JOHN CARROLL PAPERS FUND

Cash on hand—December 15, 1953			$ 237.39
Expenditures:			
Daniel Santucci		$ 4.50	
Antonio Debevec	$101.00		
	92.00		
	39.89	232.89	237.39
Balance on hand, December 15, 1954			None

SUMMARY

Investments—Account I		$6,855.94
Cash on hand:		
Account I	$7,122.42	
Account II	2,128.54	
Total cash	$9,250.96	

INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS

Interest		
Morris and Essex	$ 70.00	
New York Central and Hudson River RR.	70.00	$ 140.00
Dividends		
Bank of America	148.80	
Montana Power	80.00	
Public Service Company of New Hampshire	63.00	291.80
		$ 431.80

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN K. CARTWRIGHT, *Treasurer*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS:

President: Aaron I. Abell, University of Notre Dame
First Vice President: Oscar Halecki, Fordham University
Second Vice-President: Dora J. Gunderson, Mercy College, Detroit
Executive Council (for three-year term):
Sister Joan Bland, S.N.D., Trinity College, Washington
Sister Albertus Magnus McGrath, O.P., Rosary College, River Forest
Committee on Nominations:
Lewis B. Clingman, Aquinas College, Grand Rapids, *Chairman*
John P. McGowan, C.M., Mary Immaculate Seminary
Agnes Renner, St. Ambrose College
Committee on Program:
Donald R. Penn, Georgetown University, *Chairman*
Mathias Kiemen, O.F.M., Academy of American Franciscan History
Brian Tierney, The Catholic University of America
Committee for the John Gilmary Shea Prize (for three-year term):
George E. Tiffany, Cardinal Hayes High School, New York City

Respectfully submitted,

Committee on Nominations, 1954
JAMES A. CORBETT, University of Notre Dame, *Chairman*
MOTHER KATHRYN SULLIVAN, Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart
FRED R. VAN VALKENBURG, Regis College, Denver

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JOHN CARROLL PAPERS:

The work of the committee during the past year was done mostly by its agent in Rome, Mr. Antonio Debevec. Real progress was made at

home in that copies of the French and Latin texts available were worked over by Father Metzger and Dr. Melville, a few more Carroll items were found and made available from the Ridgeway Library and the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, a half dozen questions were answered from the Carroll material already collected, and a few final exploratory inquiries for materials were sent out. Mr. Debevec's search and listing of the Carroll materials in the Propaganda archives would, however, seem to be the major accomplishment.

At this point almost thirty pages of descriptive listing of all pertinent items, amounting to over 1,200 pages of text in the archives of the Propaganda, have been sent to us. Furthermore, the unique privilege has been granted by the congregation to have these documents microfilmed. We have not as yet found a reasonable way of getting the filming done and a rather serious diminishing of available funds is in prospect.

Copies of over 700 other documents already obtained have been ready to send out to our anxious editors. The hope of having all assembled together before undertaking the editorial work has held it up. That will now be done, however, as part of the program that can be accomplished with little expense. We know that the editorial work will continue, and we trust that further financial backing will not be lacking at the strategic moment. To all who have shown their interest in any way the committee is very grateful.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY J. BROWNE, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY:

Ten years ago this week the Association assembled in Chicago for its silver jubilee meeting, which proved to be one of our most memorable gatherings, with the institution of the John Gilmary Shea Prize and an audience of 154 at the presidential luncheon to hear Monsignor Cartwright's splendid paper on the Association's first quarter century. At that time we had 730 members and the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW was going out to a total of 1,183 members, subscribers, and periodical exchanges. It is heartening to look back to a decade ago, for otherwise we might feel some discouragement when we note the ground lost by the Association in the last twelve months. The pertinent figures are as follows:

Membership, December 15, 1953	1,011
Resignations	7
Deaths	11

Delinquents	105	123
		888
Renewals	9	
New Members	89	98
Membership, December 15, 1954		986

The proud total of 1,011 of a year ago—the first time we had passed the 1,000 mark—has been whittled away by an over-all loss of twenty-five members during 1954. This is to be explained, I believe, by the fact that 105 members became delinquent in their dues, as against only forty-three delinquents during 1953. How does one account for the discrepancy? In part it is due to the failure of twenty-one students, who benefited by the reduced rates the Association was able to offer them in 1953 from the benefactions of several members of the hierarchy, to find the money to continue at the regular dues. Secondly, it seems to be agreed that there has been a tightening of the purse strings on the part of Americans generally in recent months for enterprises of all kinds. Thirdly, I think we must admit that the situation is also a reflection of the widespread lack of interest in intellectual and cultural pursuits which afflicts almost all learned societies such as ours, a situation lamented by Philip Blair Rice, associate editor of the *Kenyon Review*, in an article in the summer number of that journal to which he gave the rather lugubrious title "The Intellectual Quarterly in a Non-Intellectual Society." Over and above these factors there is, I think, a woeful lack of interest among American Catholics in matters of an intellectual character. We have grown tremendously in numbers and resources in recent years, but he would be a rash man, indeed, who would say that we have had anything like a commensurate growth in intellectual progress. A modern Diogenes going about with his lantern in search of intellectuals among the American Catholics would not have to report the extent of failure attributed to the ancient Greek cynic's search for an honest man, but he certainly would quickly convince himself that, in proportion to the total Catholic population, the intellectuals were and are a small and insignificant minority. Just three weeks ago I attended a gathering of twenty persons who met to discuss the theme, "The Catholic in American Intellectual Life," and it was the unanimous agreement of those present that the members and influence of the Catholics of true intellectual stature in this country are pitifully small. In fact, I have never attended a meeting of any kind where the substantial agreement—and regret—were more unanimous.

Needless to say, what is remarked here is meant in no scolding fashion, for your very presence makes it obvious that you are not numbered among that great mass of Catholics in the United States who have

no interest in, nor lend support to, intellectual affairs. It remains, nonetheless, a pathetic fact that a national society such as ours can draw only about 150 people to an annual meeting, and that efforts to enlist the membership of even a number of professional Catholic historians in some of our universities, colleges, and seminaries has met with no success. Is it that these people have imbibed more than they realize of the general American attitude toward intellectuals as "egg heads," "brain trusters," and the like? Frankly I do not know. But whatever the explanation may be, it is not a flattering one for the Catholics of the United States who at the present time are supporting 455 seminaries for dioceses and religious orders with 33,448 students and 250 universities and colleges with a total student enrollment of 210,920. Many of these institutions, I hasten to say to their credit, do have one or more of their history faculty as members of the Association, and some of the larger universites have as high as six or eight. But it may likewise be truthfully said that too high a number have none at all, and that is not because they have not been invited to membership.

It was thoughts such as these that I had in mind when I said that we could find encouragement for our 1954 losses by referring to the membership at the time of our silver jubilee meeting ten years ago. To know that we have made a net gain of 256 during the last decade shows that the case is not a hopeless one, and that the day may come in another ten years when we can enroll at least a solid 1,200 members in our ranks. If, therefore, any of you know of prospective candidates for the Association, the executive office will be grateful to learn their names and addresses.

During the past year the Association has lost the following eleven members by death:

Mr. William H. Albers
Reverend Charles A. Costello
Reverend Urban de Hasque
Mr. Frederick V. Furst
Right Reverend William J. Gauche
Dr. Waldemar Gurian
Most Reverend William J. Hafey
Right Reverend Robert Howard Lord
Right Reverend James M. McDonough
Dr. Leo Francis Stock
Right Reverend William A. Toolen

It is to be noted that of these eleven men three, Monsignor Lord, Professor Gurian, and Dr. Stock, were former presidents of the Associa-

tion. May the souls of all of them, and of all our previously deceased members, rest in peace!

The names and addresses of the eighty-nine new members are as follows:

Academy of American Franciscan History, 5401 West Cedar Lane, Bethesda 14, Maryland

Miss Carol Ann Aiken, 4651 South 36th Street, Arlington, Virginia

Most Reverend Allen J. Babcock, 2006 Lake Drive, S.E., East Grand Rapids, Michigan

Reverend William V. Bangert, S.J., St. Andrew-on-Hudson, Poughkeepsie, New York

Mr. John R. Betts, Boston College, Chestnut Hill 67, Massachusetts

Miss Julia E. Blake, Georgian Court College, Lakewood, New Jersey

Mr. Robert H. Breslin, 68 Castle Street, Geneva, New York

Mr. Raphael Brown, 2651 16th Street, N.W., Washington 9, D. C.

Mr. Frank Bruce, Jr., Bruce Publishing Co., 400 North Broadway, Milwaukee 1, Wisconsin

Right Reverend Francis A. Burke, 365 Centre Street, Jamaica Plain 30, Massachusetts

Most Reverend Leo C. Byrne, 8900 Clayton Road, St. Louis 17, Missouri

Mr. Gilbert A. Cahill, 9 East Kendrick Avenue, Hamilton, New York

Reverend John-Marie Cassese, O.F.M., Provincial Curia, 147 Thompson Street, New York City 12

Mother Marie Jude Cassidy, R.S.H.M., Marymount College, Los Angeles 24, California

Mr. Raymond Castaldo, American College, Louvain, Belgium

Mother E. Cavanagh, Dean, Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, Purchase, New York

Reverend Bosco D. Cestello, O.S.B., Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.

Dr. Bohdan Chudoba, Iona College, 715 North Avenue, New Rochelle, New York

Reverend Eugene V. Clark, 546 West 150th Street, New York City 31

Mr. John J. Collins, 276 East Linden Avenue, Englewood, New Jersey

Reverend Thomas L. Coonan, Saint Louis University, St. Louis 3, Missouri

Mr. Thomas F. Crowley, St. John's Seminary, Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. Peter F. Daly, 1621 East 19th Street, Owensboro, Kentucky

Mr. Erwin D. Davis, 1601 Randolph Street, St. Charles, Missouri

Miss Catherine P. Dawson, Box 365, Rockville, Maryland

Mother M. de la Croix, R.S.H.M., Marymount Junior College, Arlington 7, Virginia

De Paul University, 64 East Lake Street, Chicago 1, Illinois

Mr. Edwin H. Dingman, 1263 North Euclid, St. Louis 13, Missouri
Reverend Edward J. Doherty, S.J., Seattle University, Seattle 22, Washington
Most Reverend James A. Donovan, 1234 Washington Boulevard, Detroit 26, Michigan
Mr. Charles A. Dumser, 2901 North Mozart Street, Chicago 18, Illinois
Miss Joan Durand, 183 Longview Avenue, White Plains, New York
Miss Catherine Ellis, 5302 Kenwood Avenue, Chevy Chase 15, Maryland
Sister M. Evangeline, O.P., Catholic University of Puerto Rico, Ponce, Puerto Rico
Mr. Samuel J. Fanning, 3790 Nichols Avenue, S.E., Washington 20, D. C.
Mr. George C. Francis, 3512 Cozens Avenue, St. Louis 6, Missouri
Dr. Anthony P. Garvan, Jarrettown, Pennsylvania
Mr. Thomas H. Geraghty, Box 409, Forder Road, Lemay 23, Missouri
Mr. Frank X. Gerrity, St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia 31, Pennsylvania
Sister Mary Gertrude, C.R., 57 Lincoln Avenue, Port Chester, New York
Sister M. Frederic Glassmeyer, Webster College, Webster Groves 19, Missouri
Sister Angèle Gleason, College of St. Catherine, St. Paul 1, Minnesota
Most Reverend Jerome D. Hannan, 315 Wyoming Avenue, Scranton 3, Pennsylvania
Miss Elizabeth Heffernan, 54 Crestmont Avenue, Philadelphia 14, Pennsylvania
Most Reverend Raymond P. Hillinger, 1245 North Court Street, Rockford, Illinois
Reverend John F. Hinnebusch, O.P., Providence College, Providence 8, Rhode Island
Mr. Roger Hipskind, St. Mary's College, Winona, Minnesota
Reverend Adrien W. Houle, S.M., Marist College and Seminary, Framingham Center, Massachusetts
Sister M. Rose Isabel, S.S.A., Anna Maria College, Paxton, Massachusetts
Mr. P. W. Kennedy, 718 Guenther Avenue, Owensboro, Kentucky
Reverend L. Berkeley Kines, S.J., University of Scranton, Scranton, Pennsylvania
Mr. John G. Kuhn, American College, Louvain, Belgium
Reverend Robert E. Lamb, C.S.B., University of St. Thomas, Houston 6, Texas
Miss Nancy Lammerding, 826 Bailey Avenue, Elizabeth, New Jersey
Mr. Bernard Lammers, Georgetown University, Box 371, Washington 7, D. C.
Sister Mary Leonore, R.S.M., 8100 Prairie Avenue, Chicago 19, Illinois
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During 1954 the number of subscribers to the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW was increased to 477, a gain of twenty-two over the total of 455 reported for 1953. The exchanges have likewise gained by seven to number 151 at the present time, so that the journal now goes to a total of 1,614 persons and institutions, a gain of four over the figure reported a year ago. In the last twelve months there have been twenty-three manuscripts submitted to the editors, of which four were accepted and are in print, one has been accepted for future publication, and eighteen were rejected.

The comment made a year ago to the effect that the ladies seemed to have been overlooked in drawing up names for the officers and committee personnel has, we hope, now been taken care of in the list submitted for your vote a month ago. Last year the executive office received 232 ballots from the membership which was four more than the total of 228 returned this year.

In closing I should like to express the deep gratitude of all of us to Dr. Joseph G. Dwyer of Iona College, chairman of the Committee on Program, and to his two associates, Drs. Thaddeus V. Tuleja of Saint Peter's College and John A. Lukacs of Chestnut Hill and La Salle Colleges, for the splendid service which they rendered to the Association in arranging the program for this three-day meeting, and especially for their painstaking efforts to enlist interest and attendance from the Catholic institutions of higher learning in the New York area. We are likewise indebted to the members of the other committees such as nominations, the John Carroll Papers, and the John Gilmary Shea Prize, for their assistance to our common task during 1954. To each and every one of our members, whether present or absent, we wish to extend a greeting for a blessed and happy new year. When we assemble a year hence in Washington, may you be with us in ever-increasing numbers.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN TRACY ELLIS, *Secretary*

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Church and State from Constantine to Theodosius. By S. L. Greenslade. (London: SCM Press Ltd. 1953. Pp. 93. 7/6.)

This book is basically the three Frederick Denison Maurice Lectures given in February, 1953, at King's College, London. The title might seem presumptuous for a book of less than 100 pages; but the author, in a brief introduction, professes his aim of suggesting only broad lines of thought, and presupposes a reader already versed in fourth-century history. In the three-fold division of his work Professor Greenslade discusses: (1) the role of the early Christian emperor in the Church; (2) the efforts of fourth-century theologians to proclaim the independence of the Church; and finally, (3) the rise of a dualistic concept of authority which tended to subordinate the State to the Church.

The author's picture of the Christian emperors, notably Constantine and Constantius, ruthlessly assuming an overlordship of the Church by right of a divine mission is, in the main, convincing. Less convincing, however, is the picture of the Church granting to the State at any time a real supremacy in matters of doctrine. The fact is apparently overlooked that even a violent Caesaro-papist like Constantius never dispensed with bishops and attempted to define dogma on his sole authority. An emperor might coerce bishops into ratifying his particular belief, or, in turn, be importuned by them to adopt theirs. But in the end it was the dogmatic decision of the bishops that counted with the Church, as no one understood better than the Christian caesar.

This refusal of the bishops to make a pope of caesar led, during the Arian controversies, to the Church's struggle for liberty, which is the subject of Professor Greenslade's second chapter. Here he traces the development of the dualist theory of Church and State, especially as enunciated by Athanasius, Hilary, Martin of Tours, and Ambrose. This chapter should be of interest to historians of dogma, since it treats skillfully, if inadvertently, of a doctrine at an early stage of its development: the independence of the Catholic hierarchy in teaching faith and morals. The final chapter views with misgiving the Church's well known stand against the encroachments of secular power. Hereafter caesar is placed within, not above, the Church. The bigot and hero of the piece is St. Ambrose, viewed with regret as the inaugurator of that rising ecclesiastical action which will culminate in Canossa.

Throughout the book, but particularly in the final pages, the author is honestly groping for an ideal formula regulating for all times the relationship of Church and State, a formula derived both from principle and from shifting experience. A formula does come to hand, and is rather vague and elastic—an idealization, it would seem, of the traditional attitude of the Church of England, since Henry VIII, toward the crown and parliament.

THADDEUS MACVICAR

Mary Immaculate Friary
Garrison, New York

The Church and Infallibility: A Reply to the Abridged "Salmon." By B. C. Butler. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1954. Pp. ix, 230. $3.50.)

In 1889 the late Dr. George Salmon of Trinity College, Dublin, published *The Infallibility of the Church,* in which he attacked the infallibility both of the Church and of the pope. Written in a witty style and with a pretense of scholarship, this book was enthusiastically received by Protestants. Even as recently as 1952 an abridged edition by H. F. Woodhouse was issued. The claim is made that this work has never been answered by Catholic theologians. This, of course, is not true, for a series of articles appeared in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (1901-1902) exposing Salmon's major errors. These articles are now reappearing in the same magazine as an answer to the abridged Salmon. Because the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* is not ready available to English readers, Abbot Butler has written the present book so that Catholics and non-Catholics alike will have an accurate and brief exposition of the doctrine of infallibility.

This book will appeal chiefly to those who have read the original Salmon or its abridgment, because it follows closely the argumentation in those two volumes. To others it will appear sketchy and fragmentary inasmuch as the author did not intend to write an orderly and complete tractate on the Church. After a brief introductory chapter, Butler demonstrates that Salmon did not understand the Catholic dogma of infallibility. What Salmon ridiculed is not what the Catholic Church teaches. In a special way Salmon found it difficult to be fair to Cardinal Newman; and Butler gives long quotations from the English cardinal to illustrate how prejudiced Salmon could be. According to the latter, infallibility was the important difference between Protestantism and Catholicism; but Butler correctly observes that the real issue is "the Roman Catholic Communion's claim to be the Church founded by Christ, to which all men are called by God to belong as of duty."

On the Vatican Council Butler has an excellent chapter which frequently refers to Cuthbert Butler's two-volume masterpiece, *The Vatican Council* (London, 1930). Unfortunately, Salmon did not have access to much of the documentation presented in this authoritative study; but the abridged Salmon repeats the same allegations. In subsequent chapters Butler explains the Catholic position on St. Peter's primacy as it appears in the Gospels, and on the Roman primacy as it was acknowledged by Ignatius of Antioch, the Epistle of Clement, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Cyprian, as well as by the Church of the Christian Roman Empire. The author's treatment of the precise difficulty underlying the Eastern Schism is particularly worthy of commendation. "The real genesis of this tragic schism . . . was not fidelity to any supposed tradition of non-Roman, episcopalian Catholicism but the essentially untraditional, unevangelical Caesaro-papist system of which the tendency must be to subject the spiritual power to the temporal."

In elucidating the Catholic doctrine on infallibility, Butler often cites non-Catholic authorities such as Harnack and Jalland. These citations, as well as his apt reference to the latest scholarly literature, will make this volume valuable to anyone seriously concerned with the problem of infallibility.

HARRY C. KOENIG

St. Mary of the Lake Seminary

Le Chanoine Jean Bazin, 1767-1855. La réstauration du diocèse de Séez après la révolution. La fondation des soeurs de la miséricorde religieuses infirmières à domicile. By J. et G. Letourneur. (Séez [Orne]: Maison mère des Soeurs de la Miséricorde, 1953. Pp. xx, 438.)

If French Catholicism since the eighteenth century has had to struggle against anti-clericalism, irreligion, and freethought, one of its hidden assets has doubtless been the hard-working and holy lives of countless humble priests. This book is the story of such a life. Born in a thatched farmhouse in 1767, Jean Bazin was caught in the rising tide of the French Revolution as he was finishing his preparation for the priesthood, with the result that he was ordained on the Isle of Jersey and spent the next ten years of his life ministering to the French exiles in London. From this "desert" he returned in 1802 to labor in his Norman "vineyard" until his death fifty-three years later at the age of eighty-nine. His life work is aptly summed up in the subtitle of this volume: *La réstauration du diocèse de Séez après la révolution. La fondation des soeurs de la miséricorde religieuses infirmières à domicile.*

The dedication of this book to Cardinal Tisserant, the protector of the order Jean Bazin founded and the proponent of his beatification, doubtless indicates its purpose. The introduction lauds "the servant of God" in good hagiographical fashion and some of the classic patterns emerge in the text proper, e.g., Bazin's extremely early inclination to the priesthood, his trials while founding his much needed order of nursing sisters, and the question of visions. To mention these points is not, however, to question the book's merit. The authors, J. and G. Letourneur, have written a sensitive account of a secular priest whose personal holiness formed on the ordinary means—the Gospels, his breviary, and the sacraments—inspired many other priests and religious to similar lives. Their account, based on a wide study of the sources, is carefully documented with generous appendices and quotations. Its merit is recognized by the fact that it was crowned by the French Academy and awarded the Prix Montyon in 1953.

Historically, the value of this book is limited. True, the specialist will find vivid illustrations of the extreme difficulty of re-forming the clerical ranks after the revolution; yet the uncritical and adulatory character of the narrative does not meet the demands of the historical discipline for objectivity in approach i.e., of going beyond the facts into synthesis and interpretation. The value of the work is rather devotional and inspirational. Catholics, in or out of the historical guild, will, in reading it, be happily reminded of their debt to the eternal priesthood.

FRANCES S. CHILDS

Brooklyn College

The Catholic Emancipation Crisis In Ireland—1823-1829. By James A. Reynolds. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1954. Pp. viii, 204. $3.75.)

This scholarly monograph presents to the historian as well as to the casual reader an analysis of the early beginnings, aims, and accomplishments of Irish pressure groups that set the pattern for later Catholic Emancipation in 1829. Following his treatment of the origins of the original non-violent political organizers, the author, after much obvious research, takes up the problems that faced Daniel O'Connell during the early days of his great political movement that was to culminate in the Act of Emancipation.

During Ireland's long struggle for self-determination following the great political vacuum from the time of the Normans until the early seventeenth century, the Irish people had a species of parliament so-called

which allowed neither true representation nor active voice for either Catholic or Dissenter. The infamous Poynings' Law, according to which no parliamentary act could be submitted without royal approval, it is true, was annulled in 1782 after 300 years of royal veto, but from the time of James I, when the alleged all-Irish parliament had been summoned, the membership therein was confined to the ascendancy groups. Such a parliament looked upon the native Irish as the "common enemy" and no Catholic was permitted to sit in session. With the coming of the Union in 1801, following the tragic rebellion of 1798, the Catholics were deceived into believing that emancipation was about to be realized. It was not until the arrival of O'Connell on the political scene that new hopes were born in the hearts of the Irish Catholics.

In nine well-written, interesting chapters the author describes the work of O'Connell and his associates during this short, but important, period of Irish parliamentary history. One of the statesman's first moves was to revivify the Catholic Committee of 1757 which had been so long unsuccessful, either in arousing universal appeal or in moving the English to repeal the penal laws. O'Connell changed the committee's name to the Catholic Association, interested the clergy as well as the lethargic laity up and down the land in its aims to secure Catholic freedom through non-violent but well-organized action. Although suppressed twice by royal power, the association was finally a success due to the political astuteness of O'Connell and his followers, both non-Catholic and Catholic.

The volume under review is especially commendable to students of Irish parliamentary history, and to university folk in general, because of the great amount of research evident in this study. Father Reynolds drew heavily on original source material, especially the Catholic Association Papers and Manuscripts in the Irish State Paper Office, the O'Connell Papers in Dublin, the London Public Record Office official papers of the period, and the famous Peel Papers of the British Museum. We would like to see a wide circulation of this book, notably in Ireland, where currently both major political parties are urging non-violent measures to bring pressure again on the British powers who still unjustly control the controversial six counties of the Irish nation.

EDMUND J. MURRAY

University of Notre Dame

Action pastorale et problèmes sociaux sous la monarchie de juillet, chez Mgr. d'Astros, archevêque de Toulouse, censeur de Lamennais. By Paul Droulers, S.J. (Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin. 1954. Pp. 445.)

In his remarkable thesis on *Les débuts du catholicisme social en France, 1822-1870* (Paris, 1951), J.-B. Duroselle had occasion to point out how

little notice the Catholic hierarchy in France in this period seemed to have taken of the social question, i.e., of the problems of justice and the apostolate posed by the formation of the proletariat worker born of the industrial revolution. This failure in itself constitutes a problem of historical psychology. Father Droulers has sought to clarify it by considering a particular case, viz., that of one of the most representative prelates in the French episcopate of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. His book breaks away from the classical form of biography. One sees here little of the man that was Archbishop d'Astros, and his work is presented, not in the chronological unfolding of his episcopal career, but rather, according to a methodical arrangement.

Moreover, it is not limited to the sole point of view of the social problem, because the author believed, not without good reason, that it was necessary to try to understand what the archbishop thought of the religious status of his diocese before seeing what place the social problem held in his pastoral preoccupations, that which he did not see and do undoubtedly explaining itself by what he perceived and realized. In short, a vacuum—if vacuum there is—is able to be defined only by the material which surrounds it and traces out the forms.

Monseigneur d'Astros became Archbishop of Toulouse in April, 1830, and he took possession of his see only after the July revolution which replaced the "clerical" regime of Charles X by the monarchy of liberal and "laic" tendencies of Louis Philippe. The prelate was then fifty-eight years of age and he was to govern the See of Toulouse until his death in 1851. Born of a family of lawyers, he was the nephew of Etienne Portalis, whom Napoleon made first director and later Minister of Cults.

Due to this circumstance, the Abbé d'Astros, called to act in the capacity of secretary to his uncle, was soon involved in the general affairs of the French Church. Named vicar general of Paris in 1805, he opposed the manoeuvres of the emperor and incurred his anger. This fact, added to his real ability, assured to him the favors of the government of the Bourbons. Named Bishop of Orange, then of Bayonne, in 1820 d'Astros appeared, from the political viewpoint, to favor the idea of union of altar and throne. He had little sympathy for the regime of Louis Phillipe; yet he maintained a strict and loyal neutrality in its regard, striving to keep the Church out of politics. His great preoccupation was to insure the defense of the faith against the errors of the day, and the diffusion of the traditional teaching among the Christian people. This end he sought to accomplish by personal directions, and he utilized, with zeal and perseverance, all the standard means, such as the religious formation of the clergy, preaching missions, good books, the catechism, Catholic schools, and various other works. In this doctrinal domain the most interesting chapter is the fight waged by d'Astros against Lamennais

and his school. The Archbishop of Toulouse made no distinction between what was true and what was false in the Lamennais movement, and his intransigeance which, perhaps, contributed to pushing Lamennais into the path of revolt, was typical of the state of mind of the French hierarchy of the time, set as it was against all new ideas by its excessive attachment to the political and social forms of the past and by the frightening memories of the revolution. The pages devoted to this episode by Father Droulers constitute an important contribution to the history of Lamennais.

In the social field Archbishop d'Astros perceived clearly the dechristianization of the working class, but he did not see the connection between this fact and that of the misery of the workers. He did not see that the advent of industrial capitalism had raised new moral problems for the Church. He condemned *en bloc*, and absolutely, all of the socialist theories and rejected all ideas of a reform of institutions in the name of justice and Christian charity. He was not even interested in the workers' mutual benefit associations which represented the first form of syndicalism. Living in the purely spiritual domain, he saw no other remedies for the situation than those used by the Church in the Middle Ages, viz., to instruct souls, to preach to the rich the duty of alms-giving and to the poor the spirit of resignation. If he did his best to favor all kinds of charitable organizations, he always put the accent on their religious and spiritual aspect. In brief, his lack of a social sense would seem to be explained by different factors, such as an intellectual formation imbued by a Jansenist, i.e., pessimism and Gallicanism, a too exclusive obsession with intellectual faith and religious practice, an anxiety to maintain the submission of the faithful to ecclesiastical authority, and of not encroaching on the domain of the secular power to which alone belonged, according to d'Astros, all temporal action. Thus this excellent bishop, considered in his time as a "saint" and as a pillar of the Church of France, contributed to the presentation of Christianity as an instrument for maintaining the established order, with all its injustices, as the ally of bourgeois capitalism against the people exploited by it.

The work of Father Droulers is the result of long years of research, and it is presented with all the display of erudition which is demanded of theses for the doctorate, a degree which the author received from the Gregorian University in Rome, where he is a professor. The list of manuscript and printed sources which he examined presents an immense documentation, and it would be difficult for the best informed specialists to discover any serious omissions. On a number of points it would scarcely be possible to add to the bibliography. However, the following are some additions which might be suggested on the religious congregations: L. Deries, *Les congrégations religieuses au temps de Napoléon*

(Paris, 1929) (p. 20); likewise on the same page the author appears to be unaware of the fact that Louis Grimaud reissued, on a very much more developed plan, his book of 1898 on free education in France. The fifth volume of his great *Histoire de la liberté d'enseignement en France*, dedicated to the restoration, appeared in 1950; the important articles of Ph. Sagnac on "Le concordat de 1817" in the *Revue d'histoire moderne* of 1905-1906 (p. 32); the new biography of Saint Jeanne Bichier des Ages by P. Domec published in 1950 (p. 35); Monseigneur Clement Tournier, *Le cardinal de Clermont-Tonnerre, archevêque de Toulouse, 1820-1830. Le drama de la petite église* (Toulouse, 1935) (p. 39); in the quarrel over education one will find in the work of Grimaud, previously cited, as well as in Volume IV of the great *Histoire générale des frères des écoles chrétiennes* by Rigault, much more abundant information than in the work of P. Genevray on the Archdiocese of Toulouse.

In the text of the work itself one finds only very minor omissions or debatable interpretations, bearing generally on the marginal zones of the subject which the author could not be expected to know perfectly. Thus he supposes that Monseigneur Frayssinous left the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs because of the ordinances of his colleague Vatimesnil which deprived the bishops of exclusive control of primary education (p. 36, n. 6). But in fact Frayssinous was obliged to resign—even as was Chabrol, the Minister of Marine—because the Chamber of Deputies had branded the preceding government presided over by Villele as the "systême déplorable," and in that government Frayssinous and Chabrol had both taken part. Furthermore, in spite of what Caussette says, it would have been difficult for him, at that moment, to have proposed that d'Astros should be his successor as head of the university, inasmuch as this position had been occupied by Vatimesnil since January of that year. Neither is it exact to put the ordinances of June 16, 1828, under the sole name of Feutrier, since they were prepared especially by Portalis, keeper of the seals, and since this minister to some extent took the official responsibility for them. The author attributes to Freemasonry under the resoration an exclusively liberal and anti-religious motive (p. 60, n. 2). This is not certain. One is astonished at finding nothing on the origins of the Society of Good Books, although it was already well established by the period of the restoration and approved by a rescript of Leo XII of May 22, 1824 (p. 174).

In a general way, especially toward the end of the various chapters, the author is not averse to formulating some conclusions, finely drawn, however, concerning matters of a theological and moral nature. Many of his readers will thank him for having thus replied in advance to questions that his exposition of the facts must have raised in their minds, but others will regard this as a digression from the proper domain of

history. Be that as it may, the work of Father Droulers is a major contribution to the religious history of France in the nineteenth century. It offers a remarkable example of the basic works that are necessary in order that we may emerge from the premature generalizations and hackneyed cliches with which we have had to be content up to now.

GUILLAUME DE BERTIER DE SAUVIGNY

Institut Catholique de Paris

Modern Christian Movements. By John T. McNeill. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press. 1954. Pp. 197. $3.50.)

This book offers to the reading public material which the author originally presented in lecture form. It contains six chapters: English Puritanism, German Pietism, the Evangelical Movement, Tractarianism and Anglo-Catholicism, the Ecumenical Movement in Historical Perspective, and Modern Roman Catholicism. The contents of the book are obviously much more limited than the title suggests. Then, too, it is clearly a work that discusses ideas and ideals, rather than organized movements. Each chapter has a bibliography, but there are no footnotes. This is no shortcoming because McNeill is not submitting a work of research; he is content to present standard information with some of his own very apt interpretations and comparisons.

The title and the table of contents immediately raise the question whether the author should have included "Modern Roman Catholicism." The bibliography to this chapter is, at best, nondescript. In the text one finds nothing of the Hofbauer circle, nothing of the impact of romanticism on the Church, nothing of the post-Napoleonic enthusiasm for the missions. Likewise, there is nothing on the liturgical movement, the development of the doctrine of the Mystical Body, nothing on devotion to the Holy Ghost and Americanism—all subjects which would have enabled him effectively to compare sound and unsound aspirations within the Church with those outside the Church. The author speaks highly of *Rerum novarum,* but is silent on something so startling as the priest-worker experiment in France. And this in a book which strives to be so up-to-date as to discuss the dogma of the Assumption which, he says, "appears utterly indefensible from the standpoint of historical documentation" (p. 175). His vague doubt about the infallibility of the papal declaration is unfounded (p. 168). His phrases on the subject of Mary are, to say the least, inept. "By recent popes, Mary, mother of Jesus, is being deified" (p. 174). "The Virgin had long been adored" (p.

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173). "Modern Mariolatry has cherished the legend of the Assumption of Mary" (p. 174, also p. 125). Even so basic a reference work as Webster's dictionary notes that Mariolatry is "usually a term of opprobrium."

Prescinding from the last chapter, the author merits praise for providing in relatively few pages an abundance of information on subjects that are hard to define and synthesize. He has read extensively in his field, he expresses himself felicitously, and he often delights his readers with masterful phrases.

BENJAMIN J. BLIED

St. John's Rectory
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AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Benavides' Memorial of 1630. Translated by Peter P. Forrestal, C.S.C. With an historical introduction and notes by Cyprian J. Lynch, O.F.M. (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History. 1954. Pp. xxv, 96. $4.00.)

The zeal and devotion that drove the pioneer missionaries into the wilderness of America and carried them over mountains and across deserts are nowhere better illustrated than in the Franciscan missions established among the Indians of New Mexico. Fortunately for historians and students, Fray Alonso de Benavides, a close and curious observer of nature, was sent to New Mexico as custos of the missions in 1623. A few years among the pueblo Indians filled him with enthusiasm for the accomplishments attained and for the even greater unrealized possibilities of the vast field before him.

Determined to arouse the interest of Philip IV in giving greater support to the missions and to acquaint the court and his countrymen with the wonders of the country and the native peoples of New Mexico, he prepared a report that has rightly become an indispensable source. His description of the pueblos, the terraced buildings, the customs and religious ceremonies of the Indians, the predatory nature of the Apaches, the wandering tribes of the plains, and the great buffalo herds make to this day an unforgettable picture. It is for this reason that it is necessary to read this account to understand the Spanish mission system as developed in America.

The *Memorial of 1630,* ordered printed that same year because of its interest and translated into French, Dutch, Latin, and German during the next four years, was not printed again in Spanish until 1900, hence

its rarity. Although an unauthorized English translation was published by the New York Public Library in 1899, the *Memorial* was not really brought to the attention of the English-reading public until 1916 when the translation of Mrs. Edward E. Ayer, masterfully annotated by Frederick W. Hodge and Charles E. Lummis, came out in a limited edition of 300 copies. Two other translations published in similarly limited editions have made it remain rare and unavailable. The publication in 1945 of the *Revised Memorial of 1634*, a subsequent report prepared by Benavides for Pope Urban VIII, while it supplemented the original, did not supplant it, for a reading of the two is essential to obtain a complete picture.

The present new translation of the original, issued as Volume II of the Documentary Series of the Academy of American Franciscan History that was initiated in 1951 with Francis Borgia Steck's translation of *Motolinia's History of the Indians of New Spain*, makes the rare report of Benavides more available. Father Forrestal has given us a smooth and clear rendition of the Spanish text, modified in places only as regards punctuation, sentence structure, and paragraph division to conform with modern usage; escaping thereby much of the woodeness of the average slavish translation. Father Lynch has wisely limited himself to a brief but concise introductory statement about the author and his work, utilizing in his notes those of Hodges and Lummis to the Ayer translation of 1916, supplemented by the new data made available by the 1945 edition of the *Revised Memorial of 1634*.

Of particular interest are the original maps by Brothers Chrysostom Murphy and Charles Rowley used as end papers and to illustrate the text, which help make the present translation a welcome contribution.

CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA

University of Texas

The Churches and the Schools. American Protestantism and Popular Elementary Education. By Francis X. Curran, S. J. (Chicago: Loyola University Press. Pp. vii, 152. $3.00.)

No survey course or fairly general work on the history of education can afford to overlook the contributions of Protestantism to educational theory and practice and to the development of various types of schools under religious auspices from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. In such a course of history, place must be found for certain educational theorists or practitioners—stalwart Protestants all—as Luther and Calvin, Melanchthon and Sturm, Comenius and Francke, Andrew Bell and Jean

F. Oberlin, to mention only a few. Nor could the lecturer or writer on the evolution of education overlook the efforts of such groups—either originated or guided by Protestants—as the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, the Educational Committee of the Wesleyan Conference, the Female Union for the Promotion of Sabbath Schools, the Evangelical Society of Philadelphia, the Boston Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor, and many others which were thriving in England and the United States during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

As he reviews these pages of the history of Protestantism in education, the student cannot help but ask a number of questions. Why and how did American Protestantism surrender the educational heritage bequeathed to it by the founders of the great Protestant schools of Europe and the American colonies? What happened to cause American Protestant leaders eventually to lose sight of the educational convictions of their religious forebears? Why were the educational societies doomed to extinction? What brought the shift from an interest that originally was almost wholly religious to a point of view that is now totally secularistic? Did the school societies, and Protestantism itself in the United States, set the intermediate stage, as far as non-Catholic elementary education is concerned, between the individual school—religious in origin, nature, and philosophy—and the state supported school—now totally divorced from religion?

These are some of the pertinent questions which can be satisfactorily answered only by a study such as that of Father Curran's. Father Curran, careful scholar that he is, does not so much supply the answers himself as permit Protestant leaders to speak for themselves. Thanks to his thorough research on the subject, he is able to quote copiously, but not tediously, from Protestant sources. These include denominational journals and minutes, official addresses, periodicals, brochures, monographs, yearbooks, and histories. Painstaking research has led the author to the conclusion that "American Protestantism surrendered the traditional claim of the Christian church to control popular elemental education into the hands of the only other claimant, the state. Thus was accomplished a revolutionary change in the history of education and in the history of Christianity."

Since the author delimits himself to American Protestantism—and he tells us at the outset that his thesis does not apply to Protestantism in Europe—he had the onerous task of deciding which of the multifarious sects should be considered representative of the Protestant position on education. No critic should be able to quarrel with his final selection of representative groups. Aware that most Protestant churches, no matter to which of the nearly 300 varieties they might belong, have their roots

more or less in one or the other of a handful of main sources, he devotes a chapter to each of the following: Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Reformed Churches, Quakers, Methodists, and Baptists. Each chapter indicates how the various church leaders and spokesmen at times upheld or rejected their denominational schools, praised or condemned the Catholic parochial schools, defended or glorified the public schools, and eventually relinquished their claim to the full education of their charges. In recent times, he points out, only a mere handful of Protestant elementary schools are extant in the United States.

Father Curran's book is a distinct and distinguished contribution to the history of education and of church-school relations. His research on the over-all Protestant attitude toward education in America for the past hundred years is quite unique. Anyone who now attempts to write a critical history of education or of the educational movements in our country should have this volume as a reference or, at least, should know of the rich sources listed in his bibliography. His thesis proves beyond doubt that the influence of the early Protestant giants in education did not long persevere among their spiritual descendants. Their impact on American education has been only ephemeral and served merely as a transition for the complete control of non-Catholic schools by the state.

HENRY C. BEZOU

Archdiocesan School Board
New Orleans

Children's Shepherd. The Story of John Christopher Drumgoole, Father of the Homeless. By Katherine Burton. (New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons. 1954. Pp. viii, 236. $3.75.)

Cardinal Spellman writes in his preface to this book, "There is probably no other man in our country's history to whom we are more indebted for originating and developing our present system for the care and education of homeless, destitute, orphaned boys and girls than Father John Christopher Drumgoole, himself left fatherless when a young child in Ireland. No man has been a greater benefactor to society."

Although many of Father Drumgoole's achievements seem commonplace today, they were revolutionary a century ago when the great metropolis was beginning to flex its young muscles. Shelters for homeless boys, soup kitchens for the poor, the first roof playground, the first day nursery idea, St. Joseph's Union, *The Homeless Child*, the blessed little newspaper about his work that attained a world-wide circulation, the great ten-story building on Lafayette Street; and, finally, the crowning glory of a truly dedicated life, the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin at Mount Loretto

on Staten Island—all accomplished in the space of twenty years and all without debt. All paid for by the twenty-five cent subscriptions to his little paper; from the pope, a prime minister, United States senators, governors, Protestants and Catholics, the great and the lowly from all over the world, inspired with admiration and faith by the grown-up Irish immigrant boy who regarded himself as St. Joseph's secretary. Ordained at the age of fifty-three in 1868, in a generation he was dead. Such was his esteem that Monsignor Preston had no hesitation in saying, "I think I may safely say that we can pray to him instead of for him."

The title is the key to the book—a popular little biography of a very great man. Nicely written, with a little too much of the apocryphal dialogue common to its type, it serves a very useful purpose. Too few of the present generation know of this great man whom Maurice Francis Egan called, "Credulous but shrewd, easily imposed on but prudent; strong yet gentle; homely in manners, yet the truest gentleman at heart. He was a national benefactor." Mrs. Burton's slender tome may very well be the means of making his memory green again.

The work is not for scholars, nor is it a biography for historians. But then, Father Drumgoole was not a scholar and he cared for the future more than the past. This book is for the little people of America whom he loved. The bibliography is adequate, the format, printing, and type excellent.

MAURICE L. AHERN

Fordham University

MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

The Making of the Middle Ages. By R. W. Southern. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1953. Pp. x, 11-280. $4.00.)

Mr. Southern's book starts with an assumption recently challenged. "The formation of western Europe from the late tenth to the early thirteenth century is," he writes, "the subject of this book." And he goes on to assert his "European" faith. "For a thousand years Europe has been the chief centre of political experiment, economic expansion and intellectual discovery in the world." The centuries with which this book deals, discursively but profoundly, were the formative centuries in which these things became possible.

It was, as Mr. Southern justly observes, a "secret revolution." By the beginning of the thirteenth century things were being said and planned, philosophies formulated and policies devised which would have been literally unthinkable to the men of the ninth century, formidable though

many of the great figures of that day undoubtedly were. These centuries mark the transition from the twilight of an old culture which had survived into an essentially barbaric world to the high summer of a new and conscious civilization, in and through which men and women were living lives of nationalized loyalty to spiritual and secular rulers and to codes of law and practice based on the conscious appreciation of human rights and needs. In the sphere of law, "the appeal to the supernatural was the most common of all the expedients of government" at the beginning of the tenth century. By the beginning of the thirteenth century men were everywhere beginning "to prefer the probability arrived at by human agencies to the certainties of divine judgment." This distrust in the constant and automatic appeal to the supernatural in trivial and mundane affairs was not a reflection of any doubt as to the existence of a supernatural order, but, in part, of a new intensity of spiritual life which men had come to regard as the proper activity of the individual soul. Perhaps to a greater extent, however, it reflected the passionate mediaeval hatred of caprice. Bracton summed up the essence of the evil of serfdom when he described it as that state when a man did not know today what he would have to do tomorrow because he was at the will of another. "The higher one rose towards liberty, the more the area of action was covered by law, the less it was subject to will." At the apex of the summit of liberty stood the king, whose every activity was circumscribed by a network of indefeasible obligations. It was, indeed, by placing themselves voluntarily under a law that lowly men could acquire status. A freeman was a neutral conception. By becoming a member of a craft guild or the suitor of a court the mere freeman acquired status.

The growth of the rule of law—Roman law, canon law, and in England, the common law—was one of the marks in these centuries of the transition which laid the foundation of the modern world, and the one, perhaps, which we find it easiest to understand. What is important in Mr. Southern's book is his vision of the centuries as centuries also of spiritual adventure, in which the mind of man reached out to new horizons, and laid by conscious effort the foundations of the new papacy, the canon law and secular government, and rediscovered the art of systematic thinking and the practice of saintly living.

It is fair to say that Mr. Southern's delightful and stimulating book is not an historical study of the period, but an annotation of a period which was, in retrospect, very different from what it appeared to the men who acted in it. The reform of the old syllabus of Christian studies by Gerbert was not immensely important in itself. As Mr. Southern points out in an interesting paragraph, Gerbert's revival of logical studies was not his own principal objective: he saw in logic the servant of rhetoric to which he gave pre-eminence. He had himself "no room for the forward-

reaching spirit of enquiry which assimulated the study of logic in the twelfth century." Yet it was logic which was the necessary instrument of order in an intellectually chaotic world.

This revival of logic, begun by Gerbert in his efforts to restore the classical curriculum, was carried much further by the great cathedral schools—themselves at once its cause and effect—and their masters, of whom Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, was the first to achieve wide acclaim. It was these schools which provided ready audience for the great free-lance teachers such as Abelard. These institutions and these men prepared the western world to receive the full Aristotelian system and science of the East in the thirteenth century.

For all this, as Mr. Southern points out, a price had to be paid. If this hard intellectual discipline imparted light to the Middle Ages, rigor, and system, it also led to many absurdities, to conclusions divorced from experience, to the ready acceptance of words as concepts, and, above all, to an unthinking literalism of interpretation. It produced in the meaner minds a temper at once pedantic and litigious, but it had necessary service to perform in "the awakening of the intellect to the study of itself and the arrangement of its impressions of the outside world; the recognition of the autonomy of reason in the discussion of philosophical and theological problems." These things for centuries subsequently were taken for granted, and the achievement of the early Middle Ages was often, for that reason, undervalued. But they were only brought back into the western world by the churchmen of the tenth and twelfth centuries, when western civilization was first submitted simultaneously to moral and intellectual disciplines which commanded the assent of the best minds in all Christian countries. Only today, when Christian morality is condemned in the name of science, and its value judgments derided in the name of new and fashionable philosophies, can we measure the real significance of the centuries covered in Mr. Southern's stimulating book. The disciplines which these centuries fastened firmly on the West are now lost and the West is threatened as a direct consequence with catastrophe.

Only one criticism seems called for. The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries were not only the centuries which saw the birth in Europe of a consciously ordered social system, a militant Church, a vigorous reformed monasticism, and the conscious adaptation of education in the problems of personal and public life. They also saw the elaboration of the machinery of government to the point where, for the first time since the great days of the Roman Empire, men could dominate events at a distance. The dark ages had limited horizons of thought, action, and feeling circumscribed by ties of lordship and vassalage, by the recollection of fiefs and honors and well known shrines, above all, by the bond of comradeship. The new world was to be one of more individual adventure, a more personal spir-

itual life, a concept of personal duty at once chivalrous and romantic—all this is admirably described in Mr. Southern's concluding chapter "From Epic to Romance"—but also, through the development of a technique for action at a distance, of new loyalties to Church and State, transforming all men very slowly but inexorably into members of a universal society, and, at the same time, citizens of a national society narrower, indeed, than the universal society of Christendom, but immeasurably wider than would have been possible to the men of earlier centuries. The result was the birth of a profoundly important dualism, of which all our freedoms were born, and the renewed possibility of effective centralized power for their defence, a power, nevertheless, which from age to age has placed these freedoms in jeopardy. It was not only religious but political sentiment which was delocalized in these centuries, on which Mr. Southern discourses so brilliantly in a book which should be recognized as an invaluable introduction to the serious study of the Middle Ages in Europe—one, moreover, which suggests many fields still open for valuable research.

DOUGLAS JERROLD

London, England

Héloise and Abélard. By Étienne Gilson. Translated by L. K. Shook. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1951. Pp. xv, 194. $3.00.)

In *Héloise and Abélard* M. Gilson has with great skill presented a re-evaluation of two important but controversial twelfth-century figures. Students of mediaeval philosophy, literature, and history will find the book of value in their respective fields; and the delicacy used in constructing the theme and the care used in insuring authenticity of facts recommends it to students of historical method as a model. Professor Gilson set as his primary goal to portray the doctrinal beliefs and the emotions dominating the lives and the relationship of Abélard and Héloise. This necessitated that he study all extant manuscripts of their correspondence, for want of a critical edition, which presented the two-fold problem of comprehending adequately the content of the manuscripts and of identifying and interpreting words. In creating the pattern of the theme he did not depend upon previous writers, but plotted it from the original sources, bringing to the interpretation of them his great erudition and a developed psychological insight.

The story, as it unfolds in *Héloise and Abélard,* is full of interest—the fall from eminence of the philosopher and theologian, Abélard, through the seduction of his talented pupil, Héloise; the years which ensue of frustration of his most cherished ambitions; the self-sacrificing love of Héloise, whose thought is not of her own, but of Abélard's, welfare. The

spiritual and intellectual status of the two is seen in the light of their correspondence, after each had become a religious and superior of a convent. In the concluding chapter Professor Gilson analyzes the thesis of certain writers of Renaissance history that in the Middle Ages individualism was rigidly repressed by ecclesiastical authority, and that the Renaissance liberated man and allowed him to assume his full dignity as a free individual. The concepts "Middle Ages" and "Renaissance," the author points out, "are abstract symbols for otherwise ill-defined chronological periods." Neither has an "essence"; and Héloise and Abélard, both of whom exhibited a strong independence in behavior and thought, fit integrally into the pattern of the twelfth century. An appendix, the fruit of painstaking effort, is devoted to refuting objections against the authenticity of the correspondence between Héloise and Abélard.

Héloise and Abélard was originally delivered at the Collège de France as a series of lectures, technical in structure, and intended primarily for students of mediaeval culture. In publishing them Professor Gilson undoubtedly intended the book for persons of advanced education. It is the opinion of this reviewer that many persons of a broad cultural background, who would find the work of interest and value, lack the specialized knowledge to appreciate details of the book, very relevant to the main theme, which are mentioned only briefly. The inclusion of such information in additional footnotes or appendices or, wherever feasible, by expansion of the text of chapters would have increased the usefulness of the book considerably.

THEODORE TRIMBLE

Dominican House of Studies
River Forest

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A History of Modern European Philosophy. By James Collins. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1954. Pp. x, 854. $9.75.)

This truly imposing study of a score or more of the major figures of modern European philosophy was written, as the author tells us in the preface, with "the requirements of a one-semester, upper division course, taking three semester hours," kept in mind. Never did any supply more lavishly exceed so modest a demand. What Professor Collins has made available—especially to teachers of history and the history of philosophy—is the best treatment to date, in English, and from a scholastic standpoint, of the field of modern philosophy from the Renaissance to Bergson. There are omissions, as one would expect in a work intended as a textbook and

not as an encyclopedia of reference. The author himself calls attention to the omission of chapters on Malebranche, Vico, and Rousseau, and proposes that a partial compensation be found in the bibliographical data provided on these and other lesser figures. Incidentally, this reviewer would appreciate, in the next edition, a more extensive bibliography on Malebranche. But the best compensation is in the excellence and completeness of the treatment of the thinkers included.

After a brief but stimulating chapter on the historical study of modern philosophy, Dr. Collins devotes a chapter each to the Renaissance background and to the outlooks and method of the newly emerging physical science. The Renaissance chapter notices most of the principal figures of the period, and treats in some detail the views of Marsilio Ficino and Pietro Pomponazzi on the immortality of the soul, the political philosophy of Niccolò Macchiavelli, and the metaphysical system of Giordano Bruno. The four-page bibliographical note to this chapter provides an excellent ground plan for the study of the philosophy of the Renaissance in detail. The chapter on the new scientific outlooks and methods examines closely the position of Francis Bacon, who "stands midway between the Renaissance and the strictly modern attitude towards nature" (p. 65), and it also contains some valuable observations on the philosophico-scientific views of Galileo and Newton. With the fourth chapter the author begins his treatment of the major representatives of the modern philosophical tradition, devoting a chapter each to the following: Hobbes, Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz, Locke, Berkeley, Hume, Kant (a chapter each on his speculative philosophy and on his ethical and esthetic doctrine), Fichte and Schelling—who share a slightly longer chapter—Hegel, Schopenhauer, Comte, John Stuart Mill, Nietzsche, and Bergson. The chapters, with the exception of the brief introductory one mentioned above, are roughly equal in length and run about fifty pages each.

"The first task in the history of philosophy," Dr. Collins declares, "is to gain an accurate and sympathetic understanding of the methods, general standpoints and special doctrines of the great thinkers in a given age. Nothing can replace a careful, enlightened study of the sources, with the purpose of sharing in the outlook of these men through an act of historical insight" (p. 3). In every essay of this work he measures up to these standards. His treatment of each of these outstanding modern thinkers is a careful, patient, thorough presentation always based directly on the writings of the philosophers themselves. References to outstanding works on the philosophers in question is made in the bibliographical notes appended to each chapter, and attention is called in the footnotes to pertinent articles in current periodicals. But the text itself is consistently a conscientious effort to present briefly, clearly, and sympathetically the thought of the philosopher as it finds expression in the primary sources.

In his exposition Professor Collins is clear and interesting because of his mastery of the doctrines he discusses, his fresh and original style, and also because of his fidelity to the order of treatment proposed in his preface, which begins in each case, after the biographical notice, with an examination and critical evaluation of the method and guiding principles of the philosopher under review. For two examples among many of crystal clarity in this department—a clarity achieved without any distortion or oversimplification of the matter under examination—the reviewer would call attention to the section in the chapter on Spinoza on *The Method of Healing the Understanding* (pp. 201-210), and to the section in the Hegel chapter on *The Dialectical Method* (pp. 619-634).

Although he is always keenly aware of the basic modern estrangement from the perennial metaphysical tradition, nevertheless, in the true tradition of St. Thomas the author is ever distinguishing in order to agree wherever, and as far as possible, with the validity of the views expressed by modern thinkers—at least in their historical setting and intention. He thereby brings out many relative values in modern philosophical teachings that too often are overlooked by scholastic critics in their anxiety to refute modern errors. How many of these critics are patient enough to "distinguish out" such relative values e.g., in the epistemology of Kant or the ethics of Nietzsche? Yet this attractive irenical disposition never betrays the author into unwarranted concessions, never weakens or blunts his critical acumen. Always courteous and considerate, his criticism is penetrating and, wherever necessary, unsparing and uncompromising: the sort of criticism we have come to expect from the standpoint of his living Thomism, a Thomism grown vigorous, alert, and supple through long and faithful training and practice in the exploration and appraisal of the insights, sinuosities, and subtleties of current existentialisms.

The author of *The Existentialists* and *The Mind of Kierkegaard* has placed the English-speaking philosophical fraternity more deeply than ever in his debt through this most recent and extensive of his works. Saint Louis University, and its Department of Philosophy in particular, is to be congratulated for its part in facilitating this production of its brilliant young associate professor. And teachers of the history of modern philosophy who fail to avail themselves of this volume—if there are any such remaining, after several reviews and notices, unstinting in their praise—are missing a stimulating and enjoyable intellectual experience, besides neglecting an invaluable aid in dealing with a very difficult field.

OWEN BENNETT

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Rensselaer

Michelangelo. Volume IV. *The Tomb of Julius II.* By Charles de Tolnay. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 200; 290 plates. $25.00.)

Like its predecessors, the fourth volume of Tolnay's study of Michelangelo is a beautiful and costly book. It comprises the results of an industrious collection of material relevant to the successive projects for the tomb of Julius II, with an analysis of their relations to each other, and an interpretation of the intentions and ideas that accompanied each. Since this volume is part of his total presentation of Michelangelo's art, Tolnay has found room to add an account of the bust of Brutus, with which he had already dealt in the *Burlington Magazine* for 1935.

The merits of the book are obvious. Tolnay has brought together a great deal of scattered material, digested the various opinions and hypotheses, and arrived at his own conclusions. He has provided an adequate corpus of illustrations, including pertinent drawings, which he has carefully catalogued. The book is systematic, even to the point of being dull, and it is as complete as one could reasonably wish. While nearly everything it contains has been rehashed already in books and periodical articles (some authored by Tolnay), the convenience to students of having this *omnium-gatherum* is unquestionable.

The demerits of the book are equally obvious. For one thing, there is a large amount of repetition. Over and over again, what is in the text is reiterated in the notes, the so-called critical section. In these days of high publication costs, such padding is economically unjustified. As far as the reader is concerned, if he must read the same thing twice he would prefer to turn back and reread. A worse fault is the bad English and editing. The author is presumably not to be blamed: at least, he extends thanks to a number of people "for the English wording" and "for their valuable editorial help." Maybe there were too many of them, and none felt sufficient responsibility. It seems unlikely that they themselves would use such English in the habitats listed (Oxford, London, Princeton). We are all aware of the changes the English language has gone through, somewhat like those with which students of Greek are familiar. To various older phases there succeeded a kind of classical period, that of Tudor and Stuart English, corresponding in its duality to the Greek of the fifth century and the fourth century B.C. Out of and after this came the English *koinē* of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which was destined, like its Greek analogue, to spread far and wide, and to be employed extensively by those to whom it had not been native. Along the coasts of the eastern Mediterranean there appeared a variation of the Greek *koinē*, notoriously represented in the Septuagint and the Greek New Testament. Likewise, chiefly in America, there has now appeared variant

coloration of the English *koinē*. Current writings on art are full of it. Its characteristics include confusion of tenses, absence of sentence or paragraph structure, frequent barbarisms, disregard of the traditional nuances of words, etc. Tolnay's whole volume demonstrates this new, unnamed, and somewhat Asian English, but there is room here for only a short sentence: "No valuable evidence exists to suppose that a completely different architecture was necessary for these figures since they can be placed in the lower zone of the monument" (p. 107). As to editing, the first conceivable shock comes on page 7, where one reads: "August 17, 1506, the eve of the solemn laying of the first stone of Bramante's new St. Peter's." Of course, every student in the field knows it was April, so this is an accident not serious. What distresses the reader is to keep encountering confusions not so readily excused, such as, e.g., the pair of references to the same thing: "Madeleine of the Noli me tangere cartoon of 1531" (p. 72) and "Magdelene in the 'Noli me tangere' composition (1532)" (p. 126).

Whenever the Magdalene comes to mind, however, we are reminded to be charitable in our judgments. We may, therefore, say that while this book is not what those of Grimm, Thode, Symonds, and others were for their times, it is an important addition to the Michelangelo shelf, and it will be used, complainingly, perhaps, but profitably.

JOHN SHAPLEY

The Catholic University of America

St. Thomas More. By E. E. Reynolds. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1954. Pp. 390. $6.00.)

When John Hall in his chronicle described the execution of Sir Thomas More, he added with some perplexity, "I cannot tell whether I should call him a foolish wise-man or a wise foolish-man." It is a question which More's twentieth-century biographers have answered by neatly deleting the word "foolish," thereby leaving the wisdom of the ex-Chancellor of England unimpeached. The admirable work of such More scholars as Thomas E. Bridgett, R. W. Chambers, and Algernon Cecil has successfully stilled the clacking tongues of such men as Frederick Seebohm who long pondered how a man so wise in many respects could have been so foolish in one.

On the whole, More has been singularly fortunate in his biographers, and to the list of significant studies one must now add the work of E. E. Reynolds. Perhaps the best compliment that can be paid to this new biography is to comment on the ease with which it assumes its place beside the work of Bridgett, Chambers, and Cecil. Chambers' biography

appeared in 1935 and Cecil's two years later; since then the Allen edition of the *Epistles of Erasmus* has been completed, and still more important, Elizabeth Frances Rogers' competent edition of the *Correspondence of Sir Thomas More* has seen publication. Other smaller studies, not only of More but of the friends and scholars who comprised the More circle, as well as of the background of his times, have been undertaken. Reynolds' purpose, stated in his preface, is to "gather together the results of these many inquiries and studies." His emphasis, he explains, is upon "the religious rather than on the literary or political significance" of More's life.

What emerges from this latest study is an integral portrait of Thomas More. Such a portrait must, of course, be delineated not only against but through a study of his environment—of the literary resurgences, the social affluence, and unrest, the religious undulations which made the souls of so many men suffer an enervating *mal-de-mer*. None of these factors is here omitted but neither do they swell beyond the proportions of a picture which is always a portrait and never a panorama. More stands before us as a man of his age: a scholar in an era which witnessed the burgeonings of the English Renaissance; a lawyer in an epoch when the legal profession was rising to new prominence; a statesman in an age which was enamored with the platonic ideal of the philosopher-king. Yet no man of the early Renaissance could slough off his heritage and "Thomas More, Knight" stands firm in the mediaeval tradition of faith and authority. He is the man who was "shrived and houseled" before any important event of his life; the man who upon undertaking a law case knelt publicly before John More, his father, begging his blessing. In him, the "new learning" and the "old faith" were welded to a perfect unity.

A biographer searching for a flamboyant martyr will not stop at More, for More, while never colorless, wears his colors with prudence. To this reviewer, the outstanding quality of Reynolds' portrait of More is his Christian prudence. More was a man who trod among scorpions with consummate skill. He picked his way warily but never hesitantly; what could not be avoided he accepted, and when the fatal sting came it found a man who had lived too long amid danger to feel fear and too long in heaven to miss earth. Unlike his saintly predecessor, Thomas à Becket, More felt no "temptation to martyrdom"—a quality often imputed to the archbishop. Yet More could say, when his execution was announced to him, "most of all . . . am I bound to his Highness that it pleaseth him so shortly to rid me out of the miseries of this wretched world."

While on the whole Mr. Reynolds has unearthed nothing new, he has made a most felicitous use of old material, particularly in his abundant yet discriminating quotations which enable More and his contemporaries to tell their own tale. To the literary critic and historian the discussions of More's prose style will be of interest; to the More scholar the bibliog-

raphy will be invaluable since it is the fullest listing of Moreiana now in print. Occasionally one is inclined to question Reynolds' choice of chapter headings and to feel, at least in the beginning of the book, that he might do well to fuse two chapters into one. This is, however, but a trivial stricture which rests largely on individual taste. We can, without reserve, place this biography next to the long revered work of Chambers, recalling what De Quincey has wisely said: only such things as cook books and encyclopaedias are superseded, not great plays nor beautiful mountains—nor, we may add, fine biographies.

MOTHER M. DENIS MAHONEY

College of New Rochelle

The Conservative Mind: From Burke to Santayana. By Russell Kirk. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1953. Pp. 458. $6.50.)

This study is concerned with the ideas of more than a dozen American and about an equal number of British conservative thinkers since the French Revolution. Although their intellectual heritage, the social and political milieu in which they wrote, and the contentions of their adversaries receive more than passing attention, the work is not a history of Anglo-American conservative thought for the period covered. It is rather, in the words of the author, "a prolonged essay in definition." What he strives especially to explain is the development of the conservative principles propounded by Burke, the founder of modern conservatism. Consequently, many thinkers classified popularly as "conservatives" lie outside the scope of this book. On the other hand, this essay is no mere exposition of the reaffirmations of Burkian wisdom since the close of the eighteenth century, for to the degree that those influenced by Burke have deviated from him in essentials we find here a critique of the content of their thought. Yet despite these deviations there remains—and in the author's opinion, waxing presently in popular acceptance—a body of sound ideas inspiring men to resist those erroneous schemes for social reconstruction that have plagued mankind since the age of the Enlightenment.

First and, until the twentieth century, foremost among American conservatives is John Adams, whose *A Defence of the Constitutions* Mr. Kirk considers "the most thorough treatise on political institutions ever produced in the United States." Adams rejected both the rationalists' contention of the general sagacity and the Rousseauistic thesis of the general benevolence of mankind. Like Burke, he stressed the natural inequality of men and saw hope for their improvement only in the inculcation of morality grounded upon respect for the past. Mr. Kirk presents no brief

for Jefferson, but he does consider him in many respects a sounder conservative than Hamilton, whom he regards as the patron of those who confuse the acquisitive instinct with the conservative tendency and whom (with Parrington) he places in the tradition of Hobbes. Such a severe judgment of Hamilton is at least disputable. Of the other early nineteenth-century American political leaders, Randolph and Calhoun were the greatest, the latter especially for his doctrine of concurrent majorities. Among literary figures, Cooper and Brownson, but even more, Hawthorne, have prominent places in the conservative tradition. Hawthorne's service principally was his effort to popularize a respect for the past (though he was no idolizer of it) and an awareness of the idea of sin. Only the foolish will deny that the idea of sin, especially of original sin, needs reaffirmation in modern society, but there is a real question whether the indifference to it, of which all believers complain, is not attributable partly to those who, like Hawthorne, have presented an erroneous concept of it. Better a Puritan awareness of sin than none, but certainly it is not in the tradition of Aquinas, Hooker, and Burke.

Before turning to the lamentations of James Russell Lowell, E. L. Godkin, Henry Adams, and Brooks Adams—exemplars all of "Conservatism Frustrated: America, 1865-1918," the author devotes what is one of his best sections to Tocqueville, included, though a continental, because of his exceptionally great influence upon American and English thought. The final chapter dealing with American figures is on Babbitt, More, and Santayana. In the moral philosophy of the first (so cogently presented in *Democracy and Leadership*) and the Christian orthodoxy of the second, Mr. Kirk finds the fullest and most balanced expression of American conservatism and the most devastating exposé of the naturalism of Rousseau and John Dewey. Although the list of British writers in the Burkian tradition is no less extensive, a review of their contributions must be. Roughly comparable to the less significant Americans mentioned above are Scott, Macaulay, Bagehot, Stephen, Maine, Lecky, and Balfour. But towering above these are Canning and Disraeli, and especially Coleridge and Newman. What distinguished the former two was their ability, totally lacking in the old tories such as Peel, to apply conservative principles in a changing society. What most of all links Coleridge and Newman is their theories of knowledge—their explanations of the feebleness of reason alone to arrive at truth, of the need for what Coleridge termed faith and intuition and Newman called "the illative sense." One further writer particularly deserving of mention (and he receives far more than that in the essay) is W. H. Mallock, the most talented of twentieth-century English conservatives.

In dealing with many figures who give varying meanings to the same words, such as nature, reason, property, state, and society, it is easy to appear contradictory. Mr. Kirk is well aware of this and he is to be commended for clarifying the meanings of others. What many readers of his essay will wish, however, is that he had been more precise in distinguishing the various meanings of democracy. So often does he lend his own support to the critics of democracy that one wonders whether he really believes there is so great a gulf between the democracy he professes to admire and the democracy which with all good conservatives he abhors. Aside from this, there are interspersed throughout the volume numerous judgments which many good conservatives will question, e.g., that "the British aristocracy, as a body the most intelligent and conscientious upper class the Western world has known, never became decadent; they were simply inundated. . . ." (p. 340). Yet, of this extremely provocative and truly brilliant study, now in (and reviewed as of) its third printing, such criticisms are picayune.

A. Paul Levack

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Sir John Moore. By Carola Oman. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd. 1953. Pp. xvi, 700. 42/.)

Not many British officers who served in the Napoleonic wars had a longer or more distinguished career than Sir John Moore. Very few could have enjoyed the affection and admiration given thim by his fellow officers and by the humbler men who served under them. He has been the subject of a number of biographies, none of them especially interesting, at least to the general reader. It has been left to Miss Oman, whose skill as a biographer has already been demonstrated, to bring him to life in a book that is not only the record of a career that deserves to be commemorated, but is also a signal contribution to the military, political, and social history of the period. Military experts may find some flaws, and scholars, who have other heroes among the politicians and military bigwigs who jostle one another in these pages, may cavil at some of the judgments. But for the reader who regards history as a record of human achievement and a revelation of character and personality, this is the life of Moore that will hold its place. It is solidly based on all the available private and public sources; it is written with unusual skill and distinction; and it is

filled with memorable descriptions of the scenes of Moore's more important engagements. Taken together these things make it as near to the model biography as can well be imagined.

Moore was the son of a Scottish physician who had the good fortune to perform some service for the Duke of Hamilton, a worthless young nobleman who came to a bad end, but whose political influence was useful in getting the young officer started on his career. His original commission, like that of other officers, was obtained by purchase; and cash down was required for most of his later promotions. But his ability was recognized from the outset; and he made his way in that age of patronage and aristocratic privilege, not solely as a result of the lavish payments made by himself and his father. His first engagement, while still a boy, was in America. Later service brought him into every theatre in which the British and French met in the long struggle from 1793 onward, culminating in his greatest campaign in the Iberian Peninsula. Included in these was service in Ireland during the rebellion of 1798, when Moore's sympathetic understanding of the lot of the peasants and of the real causes of disorder would probably not have commended him to the ruling oligarchy.

The campaign in Spain was Moore's only independent command, and it came to him largely by accident, through the return to England of the three officers, including Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had been placed over him. From beginning to end it was a sorry business; confused and ill organized, uncertain in direction, hampered by inadequate equipment and by constant dissension between the political and military command, and redeemed, as has so often been the case, more by the heroism of the soldiers than by the skill of their leaders. Miss Oman's description is moving; and Moore himself emerges as an admirable character. Whether his ability as a commander was equal to his personal character may be left to others to debate. It is evident, however, that from circumstances beyond his control, the chances were heavily against him from the outset. Miss Oman follows the established tradition of regarding it as a victory which frustrated Napoleon's designs in Spain and contributed to his ultimate downfall; but the French, watching from the hills above Corunna the departure of this last shattered remnant of a British force in the peninsula, could hardly have regarded it as a serious reversal. For Moore it was the heroic end of a splendid career. The average reader will be no less impressed by the record of muddle, petty intrigue, and plain incompetence that prevailed on all levels of the political and military machine.

DONALD J. MCDOUGALL

University of Toronto

Relazioni fra l'Italia e gli Stati Uniti. By Howard R. Marraro. [Scuola di storia del Risorgimento dell'Università di Roma: Quaderni del Risorgimento, Prima Serie.] (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo. 1954. Pp. vi, 316. L. 1600.)

This book is a collection of lectures delivered in 1953 at various Italian universities and institutes by Professor Marraro, an outstanding authority on Italo-American diplomatic and cultural relations. The author's objective in publishing these lectures, which were sponsored by the Department of State, is to strengthen the present ties between the United States and Italy by pointing out the mutual spiritual and material interests that have brought their respective peoples together since the eighteenth century. Using the topical approach, Marraro divides his book into three parts: Diplomatic Relations, Cultural Relations, and Echoes of the *Risorgimento.* Unfortunately, there is little discussion of relations after 1870. The first and most valuable portion of the work is concerned with the consular and diplomatic relations between the United States and the various sovereign entities into which the Italian peninsula was divided prior to unification. Professor Marraro shows that good relations with the Neapolitan kingdom were precluded by American abhorrence—often concretely expressed—for despotic government as well as by Bourbon interference with American mail and American travelers. Garibaldi's expedition of 1860, resulting in the political extinction of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, elicited the moral and material support of the American people. American-Sardinian relations, on the other hand, were quite cordial, as evidenced by the fact that the United States maintained a naval base at La Spezia from 1848 to 1868. Furthermore, American public opinion was profoundly sympathetic to the Italian unification movement, and when Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed king of a united Italy, Secretary Seward promptly extended the good wishes of the United States. In discussing American-Papal relations Marraro argues persuasively that the question of representation at the Vatican today should be approached from the political point of view, i.e., would an American diplomatic mission foster the cause of international peace? The author believes that it would.

Part II deals with such cultural topics as the progress of Italian music and drama in the United States; the introduction of Italian into the university curriculum; and the impact of the *Risorgimento* on American literary figures, such as John Greenleaf Whittier and James Russell Lowell. Part III, *Echi del Risorgimento,* contains a colorful description of Garibaldi's sojourn in New York and a succinct analysis of American journalistic opinion regarding Italy's annexation of Venetia and Rome. Professor Marraro offers ample evidence of the popularity of Garibaldi, "the Washington of Italy," in American circles, but his delineation of the Italian's character strikes this reviewer as being historically incomplete.

In organization and style this work will appeal more to the general reader than to the professional historian; the latter, interested as he is in solid documentation and bibliography, will prefer to consult Marraro's original monographs upon which the lectures are evidently based.

ELISA A. CARRILLO

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Cavour and Garibaldi, 1860: A Study in Political Conflict. By D. Mack Smith. (Cambridge: At the University Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 458. $8.50.)

This book is properly dedicated to G. M. and Janet Trevelyan, for the Trevelyans' inspiration may be seen here both in subject and in treatment. Like his mentors, Professor Smith has based his narrative on close and careful research in Italian archives. By contrast, he is less convinced of the righteousness of Cavour and Garibaldi and the manifest destiny directing their achievements. The author begins with the paradox that few people were more surprised at the success and speed of Italy's unification than Cavour, and few were more disappointed in it than Mazzini and Garibaldi who had sacrificed the most for this goal. Next, Smith moves behind the scenes to trace virtually day by day the political relations of Cavour and Garibaldi and the clash of their views on Sicily and Naples. From his discussion, two things emerge. First, Cavour appears in shortened stature, a political opportunist who believed in eventual unification of Italy, but all in due time through appropriate diplomatic and military methods. Second, Garibaldi and his actionists gain in height, but were gulled and outmaneuvered by the master politician, Cavour. Smith feels that the radicals were far more moderate, realistic, and intelligent than historians usually have admitted.

Several facts are emphasized. Cavour was entirely opposed to the Garibaldi expedition. It shocked his monarchical, social, and economic principles. He did everything possible to obstruct Garibaldi. The liberator, for his part, called on Victor Emmanuel II to turn Cavour out of office. Enthusiasm in the South for the Piedmontese who stole the fruits of Garibaldi's victory was nil. Only by military strength and carpetbagging politicians was Turin able to police and govern the Mezzogiorno. The people of Naples-Sicily had ousted the Bourbons for Garibaldi, not for Cavour. Their disappointment at the turn of events is clearly evident.

The Italian South, a perennially miserable area, is even now one of the most backward parts of Europe. It is not without significance that Garibaldi's liberation of the Two Sicilies and the allied liberation of Italy in

World War II both progressed from south to north. In both instances the portion of the peninsula least able to bear economically a military campaign was subjected to the rigors of war. At the 1953 meeting of the American Historical Association, Professor George T. Romani of Northwestern University stressed the southern question and Professor H. Stuart Hughes, in his admirable *The United States and Italy* (Cambridge, 1953), emphasized the problem. Smith shows how the conditions that Romani and Hughes underlined were made worse by the events of 1860, point of origin for many of the later evils which were to affect Italy.

The time has come for a second look at Italy's unification, separated from the prevailing atmosphere of good cheer and inevitability that the older liberal historians thought they saw. It seems clear that Cavour was far from infallible, his colleagues did not measure up to their responsibilities, and the new kingdom of 1861 suffered from an original flaw in failing to win adhesion of either the Church or the South. Professor Smith has handled himself very well and his book is a "must" for any person interested in the Risorgimento.

DUANE KOENIG

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Challenge in Eastern Europe. Edited by C. E. Black. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1954. Pp. xviii, 276. $4.00.)

Challenge in Eastern Europe is a symposium of twelve essays, "Prepared under the auspices of the Mid-European Studies Center of the National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc.," which presumably means that the latter organization has paid for its publication.

This reviewer is not altogether in favor of symposia. They almost always lack that unity of theme and coherence of argument, not to speak of style, that readers justifiably look forward to when faced with a book printed between two covers. Except for academic *Festschrifte*, or for collections of otherwise unpublishable and worthy scholarly articles, there seems to be little justification for the ponderous presentation of symposia, a practice which has lately grown to quite considerable proportions. Indeed, the growing midway position which in our century popular magazines have been assuming, between newspapers on one hand and books on the other, now seems to correspond in the spheres of learning to the middling and ambitious position of symposia between the erstwhile separate world of scholarly journals on one hand and of scholarly books on the other. The title of this symposium, *Challenge in Eastern Europe*, is also quite irksome. It is about time that we get rid of *Challenges*. We witness here another degeneration of a once nobler world through the processes of intellectual faddism.

Yet, when leafing therein, this book should not strike anyone as worthless. First of all, its components are able survey articles rather than essays. The ablest surveys are contributed by Professors Roberts, Wszelaki, Teleki, and by Mr. Mikolajczyk. The interesting chapter by Mr. Branko M. Peselj is, unfortunately, entitled "Peasantism . . .", a dreadful product of "writerism." There are errors in the essays of Professors Ripka and Zurcher, who completely confuses "authoritarian" with "totalitarian" (and fascism with national socialism), a confounding that is a pet peeve of this reviewer and which should be a legitimate pet peeve to every Catholic scholar. An example of this is Professor Ripka's reference to Austrian "clerical fascism" (p. 43). Neither the Austrian Empire nor the "somewhat ambiguously defined rights of self-government" for Hungary were created in 1804 (p. 10). Herzen and the Decembrists were far from being "excellent propagandists and defenders" of the liberal idea (p. 40). On the other hand, Professor Teleki's sentence: "The Eastern European states, semidemocratic, semidictatorial, balancing . . . between socialism and aristocratic-bourgeois traditions, were a brutally realistic mirror of Europe's modern revolution," is not only a succinct, but a very wise, statement. The measured concluding survey by Professor Black more than compensates for his earlier defense of Wilson's disastrous eastern European policies. One wonders whether that defense is not much more than a piece of Princeton loyalty. We should hope so.

JOHN A. LUKACS

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The Incompatible Allies. A Memoir-History of German-Soviet Relations, 1918-1941. By Gustav Hilger and Alfred G. Meyer. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1953. Pp. xiii, 350. $5.00.)

A contemporary form of historical writing—the memoir history—has much in its favor, especially for a discipline now overburdened with more source material than its traditional methodology can cope with. This new technique requires the historian to act as a "second self" for his "living source." He must try to establish the broad meaning of personal experiences, opinions, and judgments while submitting to the first-person narrative and intimate literary style demanded by the memoirist. *The Incompatible Allies* proves that the outcome can be first-rate. It combines the talents of an historian, Alfred G. Meyer, with those of a diplomat, formerly the second counselor at the German Embassy in Moscow, Gustav Hilger, to deal with a critical twentieth-century issue: Russo-German foreign relations. This merger achieves more than the title claims because

the historian has enlarged a vantage point which might have been restricted to an embassy window. Foreign relations are seen against the background and under the influence of world events so as to portray a whole era—one which began (1918-1923) when the protagonists were "pariahs of civilized society," and ended (1939-1941) when their policy decisions and ultimate conflict shaped world history. Yet the memoirist's hand is evident in a narrative enlivened by vivid character sketches and swift estimates of the interplay between policy-making and personality. Such figures as Chicherin, Radek, Litvinov, Molotov, Brockdorff-Rantzau, and Ribbentrop emerge in flesh and blood from the two dimensional reality so characteristic of "the journalism of international relations."

Any study touching Soviet foreign policy must give rise to the question: does it meet the needs of world communism or does it correspond to the Soviet *raison d'état?* The authors do not answer categorically, but they do not shirk the difficulties arising from their ambivalence. How a realistic foreign policy was forced on the Bolsheviks after the Peace of Brest-Litovsk (March 3, 1918) without altogether suppressing their ambitions for world communism, provides a theme which must be faced if Soviet behavior is to be understood. Often it has led to two opposing lines of policy full of embarrassing consequences for Soviet diplomats, embarrassing at least for the older generation still familiar with western European habits of thought, and hence prepared to distinguish between revolutionary conspiracy and diplomatic negotiation. By and large, the great purge trials of 1936-1938 removed the more cosmopolitan "Old Bolsheviks" in favor of careerists fanatically loyal to the chief of state. Hitler transformed the German diplomatic corps in much the same way. As long as Chicherin and Brockdorff-Rantzau were in office a certain subtlety, a measure of the traditional diplomatic usage, remained in force. Their successors, though Litvinov must be excepted, were "new men," without much experience of the world, and so anxious to please their masters that they respected power alone. Molotov and Ribbentrop provide classic examples. And although the authors do not elaborate the point, their book, in addition to its many valuable revelations and insights, also depicts the lamentable decline of diplomacy as an instrument of statecraft.

WILLIAM O. SHANAHAN

University of Notre Dame

The Policy of England and France Toward the "Anschluss" of 1938. By Sister Mary Antonia Wathen. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1954. Pp. 224. $2.50.)

This dissertation deals with the foreign policy of England and France toward Austria in the years leading up to the *Anschluss.* The author

gives a clear and comprehensive account of the background of French and British diplomacy in the period following the Treaty of Versailles, and goes into great detail about the efforts toward appeasement of Italy and Germany before March, 1938. The conclusion drawn is that the bloodless conquest of Austria was the opening campaign of World War II and was an undisputed victory for the Nazis.

There is, however, a tragic omission in the whole study of the pre-annexation period. It concerns the role of Soviet Russia, and the author scarcely alludes to Russian policy. None can pass a fair and honest appraisal of Chamberlain, for example, without appreciating the position of Russia during the early and middle years of the third decade. A statement such as ". . . if Hitler had chosen a Prime Minister for England himself, he could not have selected a more helpful adversary" (p. 199), is at best only a half-truth. Chamberlain feared Russia with a strange prophetic sense, and feared her more than Nazi Germany. He sought to avoid war at any cost, lest Russia emerge as the *tertius gaudens*. Had France and England stood firmly at the time of the *Anschluss*, as the author would have wanted, there would still have been no certainty that Russia would have fulfilled her obligations, or that she would even have remained neutral. We might rather have seen the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact in March, 1938, instead of August, 1939. Perhaps Chamberlain, the great appeaser, was negligent only in this—that his offers came always at the eleventh hour and too late. Appeasement certainly led to a strong Germany, but at least it left the marches of western Europe in the hands of a violently anti-communist government—an evil government, of course, but a lesser evil than what has come to pass in western Europe with the successful completion of World War II.

Finally, any study of the diplomacy of the period between the two world wars is necessarily guided by the author's point of view toward the Paris peace treaties of 1919. Sister Antonia accepts the terms of the treaties and judges diplomacy as good or bad according to an adherence to the terms of those treaties. Such a procedure is not altogether fair to the British, who refused to consider the terms of peace as static and final. With a far greater wisdom than the French, they have always considered international agreements as things that can grow and change and be modified. In view of that, what often seems to be inconsistency and dilatoriness on their part is rather a search for a new dynamic order within the general framework of international treaties. They have generally acted on the premise that no lid is worth sitting on forever, especially when it becomes uncomfortably hot. It is not an unreasonable position.

The book makes a significant contribution to the diplomatic background of World War II, but it cannot be accepted as a final judgment on the question of the Austrian *Anschluss.*

AIDAN C. MCMULLEN

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Franz von Papen: Memoirs. Translated by Brian Connell. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1953. Pp. 634. $6.50.)

"Touch you the sourest points with sweetest terms"
(Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*)

A well known English *aperçu* about diplomatic techniques and morals defines an ambassador as the "honest man sent abroad to lie for his country." About one half of von Papen's memoirs consists of reports about his diplomatic activities on behalf of Hitler's Germany; the other half covers his equally interesting earlier career in the service of his nation and the much discussed role he played in the critical year of decision (1932) which was the period between Bruening and Hitler. To prove his thesis, von Papen might have referred to a statement of Lincoln: "Honest statesmanship is the wise employment of individual meannesses for the public good"—of course, on the premise that National Socialism was, indeed, but the organized exploitation of individual meannesses, deficiencies, and errors, and, first of all, that the notion of public good was correctly conceived. The American publisher of these memoirs praises the work on the blurb—and rightly so—as necessary reading for a complete understanding of the modern German tragedy. The author, indeed, tells the story of an unparalleled national and human tragedy, one which inevitably is bound to occur when positivism, led to its extreme consequences, separates law from ethics, corrupts the mind, and induces the watchman to make common cause with the gangsters. This is exactly what happened in Germany and what will happen everywhere with method in madness unchecked and allowed to become habit-forming. Before long even an honest mind, however grudgingly, loses perspective and acquiesces with disgrace after having shunned reality.

Political antagonism apart, this life story of a knight errant of German nationalism is worth attentive reading, especially its account of the progress from the famous Marburg address on June 17, 1934, to the night of the long knives, June 30, 1934, to diplomatic service in Vienna and Ankara, and eventually to the docks of the tribunal at Nuremberg. This narrative explains more clearly than any documented history the origins and underlying causes of the disaster. Future generations may be startled

about what must appear to them to have been incredible blindness; perhaps, they will better realize than the contemporaries that a faulty order of values, preached in the nineteenth and executed in the first part of the twentieth century, stood at the birth of national and international evils. Von Papen defends his political thought and action from the viewpoint of a Christian, national-minded patriot. It is quite understandable that he tries hard to vindicate his co-operation with Hitler, and at the same time to make a point of his inner opposition to Nazi philosophy. He certainly was not the only one to argue along similar lines. The abortive attempt at internal revolution of July 20, 1944, exposed many of his friends such as Ambassador Ulrich von Hassell, and Gottfried Bismarck who were involved in a conspiracy whose existence was known to him (pp. 498, 522). Nevertheless, he sent a telegram of congratulations to Hitler from Ankara, "unable to withstand the demands [of the embassy personnel], without it appearing that my sympathies lay with the other side" (p. 526).

In the special case of the Austrian *Anschluss* it is quite clear that von Papen opposed the methods, but certainly not the final goal of Hitler's policy, directed toward unconditional surrender, which meant total integration into Germany. But even the methods were afterwards condoned at least implicitly, when they had been proved to serve their purpose. "Hitler appeared to have ruined the opportunity by a single act of criminal irresponsibility. His decisions seemed to me a betrayal of German history" (p. 430). Again we read: "Like everyone else, I was caught up in the general enthusiasm and overwhelmed by the historical magnitude of the occasion" (p. 431). Thus the *Anschluss* is taken for granted as a sacred national right of Germany, and von Papen felt it fully compatible with his official diplomatic mission in Vienna to work in its direction, even by smoother methods.

Von Papen refers *in extenso* to his negotiations of the German concordat in Rome, initiated and signed by him as the vice chancellor in Hitler's cabinet (June-July, 1933). He emphasizes his sincere efforts to stop the manifest anti-Christian trends of the Nazis. "As time went on, I came to be regarded even by many of my fellow Catholics as the man who betrayed my Church to the Nazis. It is a bitter accusation and the one that caused me the most pain" (p. 282). This reviewer would wish to make the point that in his opinion von Papen's subjective intentions might have been fully honest. On the other hand, it is perfectly clear, since the suggestion to conclude the treaty came from the German government, that the Holy See had no other choice but to grasp the unexpected opportunity to try and save what could be saved of religious freedom and rights in Nazi Germany. Besides, this was the first treaty of international law negotiated under Hitler, and, therefore, also the first one among

many successors to be flagrantly violated before the ink had dried on the signatures. Small wonder that the Vatican felt itself to have been deliberately deceived. This reviewer, having himself negotiated the Austrian concordat in 1933, learned soon afterward in Rome from the most authentic sources the well substantiated and bitter complaints over the obvious lack of good faith of the German government represented by its vice chancellor before, during, and after the negotiations. Granted that von Papen had not acted in outright bad faith in either this or in other cases, this may exonerate the man, but not the statesman; as such he was gambling and knowingly took fatal chances.

In his memoirs the author presents carefully selected materials and draws sometimes strange and even contradictory conclusions. He avoids the deliberate distortion of facts, but he does not tell the full story. He remained admittedly a loyal servant and political instrument of Hitler. That is why he can hardly escape the blame for having acted in a manner detrimental to world peace. He violated—however much against his will—vital interests of the German nation, and eventually the policy he supported brought the Russians to Berlin, Weimar, and Vienna, and with them communism came into the heart of the European continent, the very eventuality to which von Papen was so fervently opposed.

KURT SCHUSCHNIGG

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Triumph and Tragedy: The Second World War. Volume VI. By Winston S. Churchill. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1953. Pp. xvi, 800. $6.00.)

The last of Sir Winston Churchill's volumes on World War II is the least impressive of all. The military and naval operations have become so familiar that even a retelling by Churchill is hardly a great event, while his apologies for the stand he took in some tragic decisions made for post-war Europe are not altogether convincing. The arguments about grand strategy to bring the war to a close are continued from the preceding volume. He is at his very best when he shows how events vindicated his original position, which was adverse to any weakening of forces in Italy for an unnecessary invasion of the south of France; but about the strategic operations in France in 1944, particularly about the controversy over General Montgomery's proposals to concentrate for a rapid advance along the northern coastal plain instead of a forward movement on a broad front—which was General Eisenhower's decision—no strong arguments are presented, and the whole question is dismissed

for future elaboration by the military historians. However, Churchill makes out a strong case against some of Eisenhower's operations inside Germany in 1945, and he reveals that he was extremely anxious to get military control of Vienna, Prague, and Berlin before the Russians got to those places. He resisted as best he could the wholly unwarranted retreat of American troops into occupation zones, a maneuver which confirmed the communist control over eastern Germany. The whole matter of dealing with Russia was, he thinks, made more difficult for him as the proportion of American divisions increased so as to dwarf the British military representation; and the Americans refused all suggestions that the Russians were not acting in good faith. Mr. Roosevelt was so far from well in the two months or so before his death that he was not available for any great considerations of policy, and Mr. Truman was naturally reluctant to change anything that his military advisers had approved.

Even if the aforegoing is true, it is not the way to represent all of the factors involved. Attitudes toward Russia and communism were as unrealistic—at least outside the immediate environment of Churchill—in Britain as they were in the United States. Surely the British press of 1945—even the London *Times*—was taking a no less friendly line toward Russia's entrance into Europe as a controlling power than was the American press. And it was at least one element that contributed to the defeat of the Conservatives in the British general election of 1945 that the electorate was impressed with the notion that the socialists would get along better with the Russian communists than would the Conservatives who had, it appeared, been in the past too rigid in their approaches to Moscow. Sir Winston himself was not very rigid in his dealings with Stalin in that year, in making the Yalta decisions—which he defends—and particularly in throwing overboard the Polish government in exile. It may be his own bad conscience which has made him attribute tragic results to the stubbornness of the "London Poles." The Yalta agreement to recognize a new government in place of this truly representative one was, he thinks, a reasonable one, and could have worked out well if the Russians had played fair. For one who had already known the tactics of the communists in Greece, and had such a clear grasp of the problems communist penetration would present for all Europe, it is remarkable that he did not foresee that with Poland under Russian occupation, and the "Lublin Poles" accepted as the nucleus of a new government, that it was bound to be a communist-style democracy that would be set up in ruined Warsaw. Churchill's strictures on the Polish government in exile, which justly claimed the right to deal for itself with the Russians, as well as the right not to accept judgments based solely on expediency and made for them by the big three, are most undeserved. These strictures

will be remembered with distaste by all who appreciate the events recorded in *Triumph and Tragedy* for what they were—a betrayal of the weak by the strong.

JOHN T. FARRELL

The Catholic University of America

Tito's Promised Land: Yugoslavia. By Alex N. Dragnich. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 337. $5.75.)

This publication on contemporary Yugoslavia, the first by an American scholar, further justifies the concern of those who doubt the wisdom of our present friendly policy toward that state. For the student of the theoretical teachings of the communists, their methods and objectives, it clarifies the means by which these have been implemented, through force and brutal cruelty, in one particular country.

Following a concise summary of the rise of the communists to power in Yugoslavia, the author, now professor of political science at Vanderbilt University, analyzes the government and all aspects of life under the unalterable and absolute dominance of the minority Communist Party. He supports his assertions by numerous citations from newspapers, periodicals, and addresses of communist leaders and by first-hand information gained from personal observations and talks with members of all classes gathered during a stay of several years in the country.

Interpretation of the recent changes in the policy of the Tito government is of special significance at this time. Introduced, on the one hand, to cajole the western world and necessitated, on the other hand, by the need to adopt a more gradual and lenient course in the ultimate communizing of the country, none of these changes limits in any way the absolute power of the Communist Party or deviates from the final objective to which it is dedicated.

Although not criticizing the policy of the American government toward Yugoslavia, the author does point out the dangers inherent in it. A noticeable effect of the considerable military and other aid given by the United States has helped to destroy the hope of the Yugoslav people in final liberation. The economic strengthening of the country has been accompanied by a growing spirit of resignation among the people. For, as the author contends, Tito's position is a precarious one, faced as he is by anti-communist feeling within the country and by a large group of cominform communists who still look to Soviet Russia for leadership. The latter are still found in top-ranking governmental positions and in the army.

Mr. Dragnich is a strong defender of Mihailovich, the victim of the unscrupulous propaganda tactics of the Partisans and of the abandonment

of his forces by the allied nations led by Britain. He evidences little sympathy for the national aspirations of the Croatian people and their hostility toward the pre-war Serbian-dominated and highly centralized government. His defense of the errors committed by this government, as the consequences of the unavoidable difficulties confronting a newly formed state of diversified peoples, is weak and insufficiently supported. However, this is not the main theme of the volume.

The book is recommended to all students of contemporary history and, especially, of government. It is a worthy contribution to the literature on communism, its aims and practices.

STEPHANIE O. HUSEK

Georgian Court College

AMERICAN HISTORY

American-Russian Relations, 1781-1947. By William Appleman Williams. (New York and Toronto: Rinehart & Co., Inc. 1952. Pp. 367. $5.00.)

This volume might more accurately be entitled "American-Russian Relations, 1905-1939" since the author races from 1781 to 1904 in forty-five pages and later admits that "to project this study beyond 1939 is a task impossible of execution" (p. 258). However, in between those dates there is a good slice of historical meat to chew upon, although certain diplomatic historians may find the diet a little too rare to digest. After a careful and detailed account—as the author reads it in the voluminous material which he has combed—of Theodore Roosevelt's Far Eastern policy, the railroad schemes of E. H. Harriman and Willard Straight, the Manchurian dollar diplomacy of President Taft, and the neutralization proposal of Secretary Philander C. Knox, Mr. Williams then comes quickly to the Wilson administration, World War I, and the fall of the Russian Empire. From this point on the tempo is considerably slower, as the author has a thesis to expound.

Taking Raymond Robins as his hero and guide, Professor Williams submits that after the Russian Revolution official Washington should have encouraged the "constant Soviet tendency to turn to the United States." Moreover, he appears to agree with Robins that it would have been to the advantage of the United States "to keep the Eastern Front alive and at the same time lay the foundations for an expansion of American-Soviet economic relations that would, in turn, provide a firm basis for future relations" (p. 141). In addition, Mr. Williams argues that the United States, by timely aid, should have strengthened the hand

of Lenin and Trotsky at Brest-Litovsk and, by the same token, that President Wilson should have rejected any plan of intervention that could have been construed as a hostile threat to the Soviet.

But the finger of accusation does not rest there; the long indictment continues. Since President Wilson and Secretary Lansing, by ignoring the advice of Robins and heeding the counsel of Consul Summers, had muffed their many chances to co-operate with the Soviets, President Harding—followed by Calvin Coolidge and Secretary Hughes—had an opportunity to redeem the mistakes of their predecessors. Immediate recognition of Soviet Russia, contends Professor Williams, would have stabilized the world economy, established a favorable balance of trade, prevented the depression, restrained the Japanese; in fact, recognition would have ushered in the millennium of peace and prosperity. Lack of space alone precludes comments upon these assumptions. As the narrative unfolds, Raymond Robins becomes the protagonist supported by William Boyce Thompson, Senator Borah, Alexander Gumberg, Louis Fischer, Walter Duranty, and others. Wilson, Lansing, Ambassador Francis, Maddin Summers, Secretary Hughes, President Hoover—these are really the villains in the piece.

Such an interpretation may be true, but in the light of the bright afterglow of recent relations with the Soviet Union, can one be sure that the negotiations so amicably proposed by Lenin and Trotsky would have been completed in a spirit of mutual satisfaction, or that the many concessions promised would have been kept? Perhaps Lenin and Trotsky practiced and professed a creed not subscribed to by Stalin, Molotov, and Malenkov. At any rate, with a better understanding of the philosophy of communism, the imperatives of the third international and global conversion by revolution, one wonders, to say the least, how Professor Williams, writing in 1952, can be so certain that collaboration with the Soviet would have been the best policy. Certainly, vacillation and indecision do not enhance the influence of executive authority. But there are two sides to the question and one can sympathize with the cautious hesitation of American officials in establishing contact with the engineers of the Bolshevik Revolution.

It should be noted that Mr. Williams, at present assistant professor in American foreign relations at the University of Oregon, has worked over a vast amount of published and manuscript material. This in itself is a valuable service to students of American-Russian relations.

PAUL A. FITZGERALD

Boston College

Benjamin Franklin and a Rising People. By Verner W. Crane. [Library of American Biography.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1954. Pp. x, 209. $3.00.)

The familiar story of Benjamin Franklin's rise from an apprentice to a printer, philosopher, inventor, and diplomat is told for the general reader in this volume of the Library of American Biography series. In the chapter "Natural Philosopher," the author introduces us to some lesser known facets of Franklin's career. His work in the promotion of the first American hospital, and his invention of the flexible catheter were contributions to medicine. Education was advanced as a result of his efforts in founding the Academy of Philadelphia and the Junto Club. He was an enthusiastic amateur in astronomy and botany, a student of ocean currents, and he anticipated modern theories on the earth's climatic changes. Not the least of Franklin's contributions was the founding of the American Philosophical Society in 1744, which he hoped would unite the colonies in a cultural union linked to British science—an idea that ante-dated by ten years his Albany Plan for a political union.

Preferring the life of a scientist to all others, but believing that political leadership was the duty of a successful citizen, he entered politics at the age of forty-five via the Pennsylvania Assembly. He was slow to recognize the strength of popular agitation in the Stamp Act crisis. Dr. Crane attributes this to his preoccupation with his battle to replace the proprietary government of Pennsylvania with royal rule, and with his denunciation of the frontiersmen who avenged Indian attacks by massacring innocent tribesmen. But the passage of time showed that his leadership in the movement for American rights within the British Empire had been shaken but not shattered by this preoccupation. During this period Franklin was also involved in a plan that would solve the currency needs of the colonies and the revenue needs of the ministry. The author believes that this was "his most dangerous manoeuver at any moment in his long career" and "his best kept secret" (p. 108).

His greatest role—that of representative of the rebellious American colonies at the court of Louis XVI—called forth all his native talent for speaking, making friends, bargaining, and organizing, as well as calling forth the experience he had gained as a colonial agent. He was the "first American to practice the difficult art of accommodating our interests to those of an ally" (p. 191). Men were puzzled by Franklin's ability to turn easily and often into so many careers. Also, his love of humor tended to make people suspect him of hiding a joke even in his most serious moments.

Dr. Crane writes with the skill of one who has lived long with his sources, and the resultant compact volume is an attractive addition to

this series. An index and a commentary on sources add further utility to this work.

HAROLD D. LANGLEY

Library of Congress

History of the Irish in Wisconsin in the Nineteenth Century. By Sister M. Justille McDonald. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1954. Pp. ix, 324. $3.50.)

A doctoral dissertation prepared at the Catholic University of America at the suggestion of the late Richard J. Purcell, this work is a significant contribution to the history of the many minority national groups within the State of Wisconsin. The distinguished and learned Dr. Purcell would have applauded this scholarly study of one important segment of the Irish-Americans, a group in the history of which he was always intensely interested. The author has succeeded admirably in her endeavor to place the history of Wisconsin Irishmen into the broader scope of state and national history, and incidentally, too, of the history of the Catholic Church. Her study is the first effort to recount and evaluate the participation of the Irish into the life of Wisconsin. In so doing she first traces by way of background the great movement of the Irish from their native country to the United States in the decades of the middle nineteenth century.

Newspapers on the east coast in the 1840's and 1850's were loud in their praise of the opportunities afforded by the young State of Wisconsin for newly arrived immigrants from Ireland. And the Irish were not slow to respond to this call. In the years 1840 to 1870 the Irish were the second largest foreign-born group in the state, only later to be outnumbered by others. The advent of the Irish to Wisconsin is traced from the arrival of the Irish pioneers early in the century, through the comparatively large wave of immigration in the decade immediately preceding the War Between the States, to its decline after 1870. The first Irish settlers found their livelihood on the land, but it was not long until many of their children grew up to enter the fields of politics, education, and other non-agricultural pursuits. However, the first generation of Wisconsin Irish did not generally gravitate to urban areas as did their compatriots on the east coast. Even those who went west to work on the construction of railroads and river improvements usually settled on the land as soon as they had saved sufficient funds to begin farming.

The role of Wisconsin Irish in state and national political scenes is thoroughly treated. There, as elsewhere, the Democratic Party gen-

erally claimed the loyalty of the Irish because of the nativist inheritance of the Wisconsin Republicans, as evidenced in the consistent attitude of the Know-Nothing forces and the German forty-eighters. Yet in the elections of 1884 and 1888 when the tariff issue was dominant, the Republican Party's effort to attract the Irish vote in the state had considerable success. The religious and social life of the Wisconsin Irish is diligently examined. The conflicts between the Germans and Irish in ecclesiastical affairs, the problem of Cahenslyism as it affected Wisconsin, the part played by the Irish in the evolution of both public and parochial schools in the state—all are noted. The author gives considerable space also to the growth of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union in the state, and to several fraternal groups in which the Irish were dominant, especially the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Sister Justille has produced a perceptive and comprehensive work on a high level of scholarship—a study which will be valuable to all persons interested in the history of the Badger State, the Irish-American immigration, and the Catholic Church in the United States.

ROBERT E. CARSON

Central Catholic High School
Green Bay

Historic Kansas: A Centenary Sketchbook. By Margaret Whittemore. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1954. Pp. vi, 223. $5.00.)

A state centennial year ordinarily results in the publication of several volumes on its history, and the commemoration of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, with subsequent organization of the territory of Kansas, was no exception. An interesting contribution is the issuance of *Historic Kansas: A Centenary Sketchbook* by a native-born Kansas author and artist, Margaret Whittemore. Although popularly written and lacking in footnote references, the book is accurate in observation and detail and concise and readable in style. About 140 well-chosen sketches add value to the work. These illustrations depict landmarks of a wide variety from Indian peace treaty monuments to homes of famous Kansans, from trails and windmills to bridges and historic trees. Each in its own way has made history.

From one end of the state to the other are found markers erected under the auspices of the Kansas Historical Society such as that at Saint Mary's to mark the site of the first Catholic cathedral of Bishop John B. Miège, S. J. Other markers were erected by private organizations—examples of which are the Knights of Columbus thirty-foot granite cross near

Lyons to commemorate the protomartyr, Juan de Padilla, and the DAR-sponsored "Madonna of the Trail" at Council Grove, one of twelve identical statues strategically located along the trail from Atlantic to Pacific. Historic relics of the line of frontier defense forts stretching from Fort Leavenworth westward across the state—Forts Riley, Harker, Zarah, Larned, Dodge, and Wallace—mark the westward advance of civilization in the 1860's and 1870's. The important role of Kansas in pre-Civil War history is well known; however, the equally weighty impact of Kansas history in solving the Indian problem after the war has not yet received the attention it deserves.

The United States Coast and Geodetic Survey designated a location in Smith County as the geographical hub of the United States. That is not all; it is the center of the continent of North America as well. Meade's Ranch in Osborne County was selected in 1901 as the Greenwich of the United States because it happened to be at the junction of the two great arcs of triangulation. One extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific along the 39th parallel of latitude, and the other from Canada to Mexico approximately along the 98th meridian of longitude. This important focal point consists of a mere block of concrete about two feet square and protruding six inches above the ground. In the center is set a triangulation marker, a bronze disk three inches in diameter. In 1913 both Canada and Mexico decided to adopt this same marker as the fundamental point of reference for their land surveys. Thereafter, it has been called the North American Datum. Further scientific co-operation among nations has resulted in a spider-web pattern linking all countries of the world with the geodetic center in Osborne County, Kansas. These facts have implications in this global age and may in part account for the heavy concentration of installations of the Strategic Air Command within a short radius from that point.

The author is well known for book illustrations and she has contributed frequently to *Audubon Magazine, Nature Magazine,* and the *American Magazine of Art.* Many of those used in the present volume have previously appeared in the Kansas City *Star.* The University of Kansas Press is to be commended on the physical makeup of the book, one which should serve as a model for other states in preserving in graphic manner the traditions of local history.

SISTER M. EVANGELINE THOMAS

Marymount College
Salina

The Fremantle Diary. Being the Journal of Lieutenant Colonel James Arthur Lyon Fremantle, Coldstream Guards, on His Three Months in the Southern States. Edited by Walter Lord. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1954. Pp. xv, 304. $4.00.)

In the long period of more than ninety years since the War between the States, no other contemporary account of the Confederacy in its greatest hour excels that given in *The Fremantle Diary.* Colonel Fremantle, of Her Majesty's Coldstream Guards, was a young man of twenty-eight years, on leave from military duty in the British army, when he sailed from England aboard the *Arato* on March 2, 1863, to visit the people of the Confederacy, for, while he had no deep convictions in the causes of the war, his sympathy, like that of nearly all Englishmen, was with the South. He came, not as a military man on a mission, but as a friendly British tourist interested in all about him. He arrived in Brownsville, Texas, on April 2, from whence he set out a few days later by rough traveling in wagon, stagecoach, boat, railroad cars, and sometimes on horseback on his journey through Texas and the states eastward to Charleston, South Carolina. He proceeded north to Richmond, and from there along the Confederate lines to Gettysburg, where he arrived in the midst of the great battle on July 3, 1863. He was at once fascinated as he watched the battle lines through his field glass as he sat in the forks of a tree. A young man of charm, who threw himself enthusiastically into the incidents of his journey, Fremantle made friends everywhere. He met and talked with people, and has left matchless descriptions of them and the things he saw along his way through the South. His description of Robert E. Lee is inimitable; and so with Sam Houston in Texas; Major General John B. Magruder, the most elegant Virginian and the Confederate commander in Texas; General E. Kirby Smith of Florida and his beautiful wife at Shreveport, the trans-Mississippi headquarters; General Braxton Bragg at Shelbyville, Tennessee, and a host of other interesting personalities that are a real part in the history of those times.

Walter Lord's editorial notes make this book a treat that no one should miss, for Mr. Lord himself is an enthusiast in his study of the War between the States, one who visits the old battlefields to re-enact the scenes that he may learn and know what really happened there. The editor's introduction explains that Fremantle's diary was first published in London late in 1863, and the next year in New York and in Mobile, Alabama, all three editions being read with eager interest throughout England and the American North and South. When the end of the war came Fremantle's diary was put away and relegated to oblivion. Today, when sectional bitterness is fading away in the larger view of the

American scene with its new perspective of the bravery on both sides in that long ago war, Colonel Fremantle's first-hand observations of the South as he saw it in 1863 will bring to all Americans a feeling of renewed pride in our country's glorious history.

MURIEL H. WRIGHT

Oklahoma Historical Society

A History of the Southern Confederacy. By Clement Eaton. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1954. Pp. ix, 351. $5.50.)

Dr. Eaton has written an authoritative, concise, and well balanced history of the southern Confederacy. His viewpoint is equally free from southern nostalgia and northern self-righteousness. More noteworthy, the author describes not only the military but also the social and political aspects of southern life during the Civil War. This reviewer wishes he had leaned even further in the direction of the "human" side of the Confederacy—but that is a matter of degree. The book is not only comprehensive, but admirably concise.

The story begins with secession, viewed as a "conservative revolt" against the nineteenth century, as well as against the liberalism of the earlier Jeffersonians. This revolt has received more detailed treatment in the author's well-known *Freedom of Thought in the Old South.* Of the causes leading to secession, Professor Eaton correctly emphasizes emotion, sectional pride, and the desire to preserve "white supremacy." One chapter sketches sharply the southern generals and evaluates their strategy and tactics. General Braxton Bragg makes the poorest showing, but even Lee's blunders are acknowledged. It is made clear that the principal defect of Confederate strategy was lack of co-ordination; Lee was not appointed commander-in-chief of all the Confederate armies until two months before the end of the war. Such individualism is also criticized on the political level, e.g., in the persons of Governor Brown of Georgia and Governor Vance of North Carolina. The chapter on "Soldiers in Gray"—the common soldiers—balances the one on "Generals and Strategy." A description of the conditions under which Johnny Reb fought not only adds a human touch but emphasizes the importance of morale. The brilliant tactics of Stonewall Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley had glamor, but to the eyes of the common soldier the war was more like Sherman's supposed description of it. The author has no scapegoats for the final military defeat of the Confederacy—not even Jefferson Davis. Dr. Eaton emphasizes the "Loss of the Will to Fight," but appraises this and the failure of King Cotton diplomacy realistically against northern military superiority.

One might wish that the footnotes had not been placed in the rear of the book. Also there are no maps, an omission which the reader notices especially for the military campaigns; but this is minor. The merit of *A History of the Southern Confederacy* is that it is concise and many-sided. To a limited extent at least, it tells the "human" story of the Confederacy—not the sentimental stereotype of plantation mansions and mint juleps—but the realistically human story of nine million people during four years of war.

ANTHONY H. DEYE

Villa Madonna College
Covington

Stephen R. Mallory: Confederate Navy Chief. By Joseph T. Durkin. S.J. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 446. $6.00.)

Despite the numerous works written about various aspects of the Civil War, there is still surprisingly much to be said—especially about naval planning and strategy. Father Durkin has attempted to fill in some of this void in a work marked by prodigious research and new and challenging facts and conclusions. His biography of Stephen R. Mallory, Secretary of the Confederate Navy, has lighted many dark corners. It certainly will also arouse storms of protest and challenge. In other words, his near-pioneer work will undoubtedly spur others again to choose sides and re-fight the Civil War both at sea and in the naval offices of North and South.

The changed Shakespearean dictum of most biographers of Civil War heroes seems to be "The war's the thing!", since the majority of these heroes become subjects for critical biography solely because of the respective roles assumed by them during the war. Father Durkin ignores that method and devotes almost half of this book to Mallory's life before and after the Civil War. In so doing, he vividly (if not purposefully) pictures Mallory as a rather plodding, unexciting man, very snobbish (p. 184), a bit slow to act, and subject to alternate periods of great exaltation and dark despair. He seems a small man trying his best to do a very big job. But try his best he does, and the chronicling of this story, despite some of the dryness of yellow-paged documents, reveals much that is new, and confirms much that is old. The intrigues in Davis' inner circle, the bickering and smallness of many of the men entrusted with the waging of a life and death struggle, the bungling and the mistakes, the pride and unbelievable denseness: it's all here for the world to see. One wonders how either side could have won the war. But one does regret

that the author feels he must tear apart the Union Secretary of the Navy in order to place Mallory in better light (p. 155).

The author will undoubtedly get into trouble with naval strategists on many points, notably the rather remarkable statement that "Mallory's keen realization of the utility of ironclads and his promptness in beginning to build them is perhaps his chief claim to fame" (p. 153). That is remarkable when one considers what little the South actually did with the ironclad *Virginia* in action and in development. When a man is willing to place all his hopes and his whole strategy on a single weapon, with apparently no thought of its being out-classed, out-produced, or destroyed with little hope of quick replacement, his fame rests on shaky grounds. His defense of New Orleans would have made a warrior like Lee shudder. Vicksburg, too, was bungled, if not by Mallory, by incompetent inferiors. His "absolute weapon" raged once, and then was silenced, bottled up, and scuttled. Later marine torpedos are seized upon as another "absolute weapon." A drowning man clutches at straws, and the South was certainly drowning. Commerce raiders, which could have been used almost as devastatingly as the Germans used submarines, are almost entirely neglected. Despite the author's efforts, it is most difficult to concede that the navy was run at all well.

Mallory's was a big job. He tried his best, with devotion and integrity, but with little talent. This biography is a rewarding book, and it points the way to many other studies yet to be written.

RICHARD G. THEISEN

St. Francis Borgia Rectory
Chicago

Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: The Story of a Virginia Lady, Mary Berkeley Minor Blackford, 1802-1896, Who Taught Her Sons to Hate Slavery and to Love the Union. By L. Minor Blackford. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xix, 293. $5.00.)

If generalizations can be drawn about a sex or a century from biography, then this biography of a Virginia lady whose life very nearly covered the nineteenth century furnishes some interesting modifications of older, black-and-white notions about nineteenth-century southern womanhood. Like England's Victoria, whose life span she closely approximated, Mary Blackford was a woman of indomitable will, vigorous moral advices, and a fascinated preoccupation with the marital projects of those about her.

Bell Irwin Wiley has commented shrewdly that her career "points up the fact that Southern society had many nuances and that the traditional

picture is inaccurate in many of its details." This is certainly true, if the traditional picture may still be conceived as a South devoted to upholding slavery as an institution, secession as a political dogma, and swooning womanhood as a paragon of virtues. Mary Blackford argued in favor of freedom for slaves and their transportation to Liberia; her family remained loyal to the Union until after the secession of the southernmost tier of states, while Mary herself wrote in 1861, "I suffer at times such anguish of mind about the ruin of our great country, and the prospect of civil war that I feel impelled . . . to pour out my heart. . . ." Virginians of her sentiments did not hold with "the frenzy which reigns in the cotton State mobs," or "the incredible fatuity of the South." As for fragility, Mary Blackford's invalidism allowed her to achieve the ripe old age of ninety-four with an energy whose cane-raps on the newels could still summon her son from the depth of his study.

But in many ways Mrs. Blackford's life was more typical of her sex, her section, and her century. When she was away on her prolonged visitations in northern climes designed to improve her health, she admonished her husband not to tell her "about fights that disgrace the age and the country," adding, "I had rather hear of the meanest flower that grows in my garden. I wish you would tell me if the roses on the arbors are growing fast and blooming." Much of the burden of her possessive correspondence with her five sons related to her fears of their fondness for flirting, or to her pleas that they adhere to her views on temperance. While she could well with humanitarian sympathy for the poor black people, she never loved the lower class of whites, and "there is no indication that she ever wanted to do anything for them as a group except to deny them the privilege of buying alcohol." Like any southern aristocrat, she prized her social position and expected her sons to marry within the ranks of that aristocracy. When the family moved to Lynchburg, which seemed to her a wild frontier town, she adjusted reluctantly and plaintively. "She could be unhappy anywhere," her biographer comments, "without the least effort, but she was particularly unhappy in Lynchburg." The appearance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852 was a pleasant distraction for a lady who thrived on noble causes. Years later her son, William, could tease her by saying, "Mother, you have never been really happy since the slaves were emancipated: your pet hobby is gone."

The author of *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory,* Mary's own grandson, has, nevertheless, done the social historian a charming service. By a judicious and dispassionate selection of family papers, he has given the reader a glimpse into a very real society and has revivified some very fine and very human Americans. Mary Blackford and her age emerge from these pages undimmed by the passage of time and ungilded by a

partial historian's brush. The times were of momentous import and they lose nothing in the telling, whether from the point of view of a slave sent to Liberia, a youthful student at the University of Virginia, a gallant soldier, a devoted husband, or the inimitable Mary herself. The affectionate good humor of the biographer is more than ingratiating. The scholarship is sound. And whether or not he intended to do so, Dr. Blackford has given the most satisfactory explanation yet offered for the nation's ability to survive the awful catastrophe of its Civil War: that it occurred in the nineteenth century, and that the nineteenth century had its share of Blackfords, both south and north of the Mason-Dixon Line.

ANNABELLE M. MELVILLE

Bridgewater Teachers College

William Freeman Vilas. Doctrinaire Democrat. By Horace Samuel Merrill. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1954. Pp. xii, 310. $4.50.)

Casual readers as well as scholars will enjoy Professor Merrill's delineation of a staid though kindly Victorian gentleman who left Vermont for Wisconsin at the age of ten to become successively a printer's devil, a soldier in the Civil War, a lawyer and a professor of law, the lawyer for the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad, a postmaster general with wide jurisdiction over the patronage, a United States senator, and Secretary of the Interior under Cleveland. Despite the influence which these positions brought to him and the affluence which he and his fellow student, John Knight, derived from the pine forests, he seems to have merited little reproach for unscrupulousness. Amusingly, though understandably, he favored the construction of dams for controlling floods but, as for preserving timber, he believed that the Creator had not given it with the intention that it be preserved. "The woodsman," said he, "who harvests nature's crop is making way for the planting of man, and the cleared fields will be occupied, with adaptation to the circumstances, perhaps as usefully as the prairies." Even the sportsman seeking game in vain would find "plentiful gratifications for rod and line in the lakes and streams" (p. 140).

The book casts light upon Vilas' relations with La Follette and Bryan. While the nation was moving in the direction of government aid to the masses, Vilas stuck to the Bourbon concept of laissez-faire and the natural laws of economics. He wanted no tampering with the monetary system and also, in depression, he held fast to a policy of non-intervention.

Catholics will be interested in Vilas' stand on the A. P. A. and on the Bennett Law. As a Democrat he opposed this law, which occasioned one

of Wisconsin's most bitter gubernatorial campaigns. After the campaign was over he published an article in *Forum* which, in the opinion of the reviewer, merited more consideration than it received. Since Vilas was a devotee of education, this article, despite its assuasive character, would have yielded a richer chapter than the one entitled "Eloquent Orator." The reader would like to know the names of the two archbishops who condemned the law (p. 165). One was obviously Heiss, who died before the critical election, but who was the other? In view of the fact that Katzer spearheaded the Catholic campaign, it seems strange that his name is missing in the index. Incidentally, Katzer and Zeininger also agreed with the monetary views of Vilas.

The numerous footnotes of the book are annoyingly relegated to the end of the volume, and an attempt to consult Vilas' article in *Harper's* disclosed that on page 291 the volume number should read 82, not 72. But all in all, the book is a welcome addition to Wisconsin's pre-Berger, pre-LaFollette history.

BENJAMIN J. BLIED

St. John the Baptist Rectory
Fond du Lac

Arthur Pue Gorman. By John R. Lambert. [Southern Biography Series.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953. Pp. ix, 397. $6.00.)

Arthur Pue Gorman, a master in the art of politics on national and local levels, has too long remained an obscure figure in American history. To the average student he is remembered solely for his fight over the Wilson-Gorman tariff; yet it is this Gorman who was unmistakably the leader of the Democratic Party in Maryland from 1880-1906, the successful manager of the Cleveland campaign of 1884, and a presidential aspirant in 1892 and 1904. He is one of the few political leaders of this country whose millieu was exclusively the political world of his time; in 1852 at the age of thirteen as a page boy he began a career in Congress that lasted until his death in 1906. One could hardly ask for a more striking example of a person devoted to such a career. Certainly the long list of activities he performed is evidence of his importance and influence in the political arena of his time: subordinate offices in the senate, senate postmaster, collector of internal revenue, member and speaker of the House of Representatives, United States Senator from Maryland for twenty years, a presidential appointee and a manager for the Democratic presidential campaign of 1884. He also held numerous posts of honor, including the presidency of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, and many

chairmanships of the local and national Democratic Party. Strange, then, that his voice has been lost among those of his associates and that posterity, if it knows him at all, fails to recognize his historical significance.

That he has remained so long unknown—even to Maryland historians and politicians—is an enigma that poses a challenge to the thoughtful. Professor Lambert, in attempting an explanation of this neglect, has given an objective and exhaustive study. He acknowledges frankly that Gorman's life is difficult to appraise. The private papers offer the most limited information since Gorman was not prone to commit his thoughts to paper or to express his feelings or opinions publicly. It is precisely this lack that prevents any real understanding of the man. In Gorman this is particularly disappointing since his private life was so intimately bound up with his political life in this Tweed Ring era. What Professor Lambert has tried to do is weave the narrative around the outstanding events in which Gorman participated. This effort has resulted in some careful interpretations of certain significant historical decades, but in many instances the work is marred by excessively involved passages which confuse the reader. It has also led the author to suggest what might have been the reason for Gorman's actions—a rather precarious undertaking, in any case.

The biography gives evidence of scholarly research (a cursory glance suffices to assure one of this), but it leaves one with the feeling that the whole story has not yet been told. A mass of detail, exhausting to the reader, obscures its most colorful parts and diverts attention from his main thesis. These could better be relegated to footnotes. Admittedly Gorman is difficult to work with. Lambert, in asking himself why so active a man left behind a record so barren of constructive achievement, has answered as best he could: Gorman's work was the work of political necessity, managing political organizations, conducting political campaigns, maintaining political discipline, and as a result little time was left for more obvious accomplishments. Other biographies will probably be written, but Gorman's cause has fared well at the hands of Professor Lambert.

SISTER MARY VIRGINA GEIGER

College of Notre Dame of Maryland

The Republican Roosevelt. By John Morton Blum. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. viii, 170. $3.50.)

Thirty-five years after his death, Theodore Roosevelt remains still a controversial figure. Too frequently publicists, like contemporary cartoonists, have found in caricature their solution to the enigma of Roosevelt's

character. In his interpretative essay, however, John Morton Blum, associate editor of *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt,* displays both sympathy and detachment in presenting a balanced and perceptive appraisal of the purposes and methods of Roosevelt's career.

It is with Theodore Roosevelt the Republican politician that Mr. Blum is primarily concerned. A politician by choice, in an era in which his patrician associates disdained partisan conflict, Roosevelt was driven to master politics by love of power. In 1884, shattering the patrician pattern, he gave up the expensive pleasure of independence and embraced party regularity and professionalism. It was a painful decision for a moralist, but to Roosevelt it was clear that the party offered the only means of securing the power he so eagerly sought. By 1900 Roosevelt was a professional politician, albeit a "conscionable" one, proficient in the techniques of winning and holding power. By 1900, too, he had perfected the principles by which he intended to discipline his use of power, to guard against a descent to mere opportunism. Compelled by temperament to reject the vapid conservatism of the Spencerians, Roosevelt, Mr. Blum argues cogently, was, nonetheless, a conservative. The basis of his conservatism was power; power wielded by knowledgeable men of "character" who would promote stability by directing gradual change in traditional institutions. With no systematic political philosophy, Roosevelt concerned himself more with the processes than with the ends of government. He was interested in solving definite problems, in meeting specific situations. These attitudes he shared with men generally labeled conservative by the liberals of his day. In the adaptation of existing institutions to meet the needs of an industrial society, the end of this viable conservatism, the president would lead the way. Through executive leadership and the divers uses of administration, he would restrict the abuses of vulgar wealth and equalize the conditions of competition. But, Mr. Blum observes, power is not an adequate judge of its own virtue. Posit Roosevelt's chronic self-righteousness and need for approval and the dangers of the doctrine become evident. Unrestrained by responsibility, Roosevelt could, as his post-presidential career demonstrates, stoop to conscienceless oppositionism.

Particularly important are Mr. Blum's detailed account of the manner in which Roosevelt broke Hanna's grip on the party organization and his fresh interpretation of the fight for railway regulation. Behind the bluff and bluster, the author sees in Roosevelt's foreign policy a projection of his conservative concern for order maintained by power. While perhaps exaggerating Roosevelt's perspicacity in foreign affairs, Mr. Blum condemns his reliance on arbitrary power and his failure to recognize the value of the constitutional checks on the foreign relations powers of the

executive. A study in the Sherman-Josephson-Hofstadter tradition, this volume should inspire interest even where it provokes dissent.

FRANK GERRITY

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Philadelphia

The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt. Volumes VII and VIII. *The Days of Armageddon.* Selected and edited by Elting E. Morison. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 816; viii, 817-1621. $20.00.)

In this final set of Roosevelt's letters there has been no departure from the editorial procedure used in the foregoing volumes, which have been previously noted in the REVIEW (XXXVII [January, 1953], 476-477; XXXIX [April, 1953], 85-86). In this set, however, three significant changes in method were employed, viz.: fewer letters in proportion to the available total were selected; comment in the footnotes is more frequent and more extended; and the nature of the letter to which Roosevelt was replying is explained more frequently. If these rules had been followed from the beginning, the intent behind the venture might have been realized more completely, but considerable experience was undoubtedly needed before these salutary changes appeared desirable to the editor. Editors of similar works in the future will certainly profit by a thorough study of the methods which have produced such excellent results.

The volumes under review contain selections from Roosevelt's correspondence between March, 1909, just after he had left the White House and as he prepared to leave for ten months of the strenuous life in the African jungles, and January 6, 1919, the date of his death. Including forty-three letters in Appendix I, 6,480 out of approximately 100,000 MSS have been made easily available through this project. In Appendices II to VI there are short essays on "The Origin of Progressive Leadership" and "Method and Materials," a detailed chronology, and a list of the manuscript collections used.

Considerable lengthy correspondence about his experiences in the jungles of Africa and Brazil, and in Europe, has been included in these volumes. It is delightful reading and it demonstrates the great scope of his interests, but most historians will be chiefly interested in the numerous items which reveal his political activity as a critic of the conservative wing of the Republican Party and as a leader of the progressive movement.

Roosevelt's opinion on the following churchmen will be of particular interest to many readers of the REVIEW. He spoke of the "cold-blooded opportunism" of Pope Benedict XV during World War I, and it was his belief that Leo XIII would have been "emphatically on the side of the Allies, for he was about as much like the present Pope as I am like Wilson" (pp. 1053-1054). Concerning Raphael Cardinal Merry del Val, who submitted a proposal to Roosevelt with a view to making it possible in a delicate situation to present the ex-president to the Holy Father, he said: "It never occurred to him, Cardinal and Prince of the Church as he is, that this was an invitation to me to take part in a piece of discreditable double-dealing and deception" (p. 357). For William Cardinal O'Connell he had the greatest contempt, at one time referring to him as a "scoundrel" because, as he put it, he "had been an open champion of Spain when we were at war with her" (p. 356), and at another time saying, "He is intensely worldly; he is very narrow; he is anti-American and anti-democratic; and in his attitude toward scientific and philosophical investigation among laymen, his position is really that of a medieval reactionary" (p. 437). In Archbishop John J. Keane, Bishop John Lancaster Spalding, and Abbot Charles H. Mohr, O.S.B., he found a "combination of serene and lofty spirituality, of broad-minded charity and of sincere desire to do good"—a combination which insured from him "a very high and affectionate regard" (p. 437). Other Catholic figures with whom Roosevelt either corresponded or mentioned were Thomas Patrick Gill, John A. Zahm, C.S.C., Father John L. Belford, Bob Collier, Mark Sullivan, Charles J. Bonaparte, and Maurice Francis Egan.

Although the editorial work in these volumes is excellent, attention is invited to Henry L. Stoddard, *As I Knew Them* (New York, 1927), pp. 460-462, to balance the opinion relative to John Taylor Adams expressed in a footnote (p. 1280). In the index Merry del Val, Raphael, R meets, 764, should read Merry del Val, Alfonso, R meets, 764, and under O'Connell, Archbishop [Cardinal] William H., R on, references should be made to pp. 356, 437-438.

If any foundation, organization, group, or individual should be contemplating a project similar to this one, the reviewer would suggest that the funds made available for it would be spent to better purpose if microfilm copies of *all* the correspondence would be made and distributed to libraries in various sections of the country so that it would be available for the use of scholars.

PATRICK HENRY AHERN

The St. Paul Seminary

Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917. By Arthur S. Link. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1954. Pp. xvii, 331. $5.00.)

Professor Link sets a high standard for the New American Nation Series with this volume. This was to be expected in view of his previous monographs and especially his book, *Wilson: the Road to the White House*, to which this work forms a sequel. The thoroughness of his research is impressive. Newspapers, contemporary publications, and a mass of manuscript, including a good deal of revealing correspondence, make this a substantial contribution to an understanding of Wilson and his times. The matter deserves the meticulous method. Wilson was faced with decisions of unique difficulty in both domestic and foreign affairs. A careful study of his career provides significant insights into the crucial function of leadership in a democracy. It is the author's thesis that the progressives found in Wilson a rare combination of sensitivity, energy, and skill—in brief, a leader—at long last.

The transformation wrought in Wilson by his attempts to grapple with the realities of the struggle is clearly brought out. He was not a reformer to begin with. His early views amounted to a Manchesterian faith in economic freedom as a panacea. Trust-busting, to restore the fullest competition, constituted almost the whole of his program. As the fight developed he moved swiftly toward acceptance of the fact of bigness in our economic pattern of organization, and adopted along with it the inevitable corollary of federal regulation. Whether this represented intellectual growth or political expediency, may be in question—the author thinks it both—but Wilson's capacity for leadership was dramatically demonstrated. He won enactment of many measures he had himself opposed: federal control of banking policy, regulation of corporations by the F.T.C., the protection of agriculture and of labor. It must be said that his attitude, as in the matter of racial segregation in federal departments, often left much to be desired so far as the progressives were concerned.

With respect to foreign affairs, Wilson's "missionary" zeal is shrewdly criticised, though the basis of his animus against Huerta is not made sufficiently clear. Our relations with the European belligerents leading to our entry into World War I do not emerge so sharply as do other sections of the book, though Tansill's case is thoroughly refuted in this reviewer's opinion. In general the treatment of our foreign affairs suffers from the author's need to crowd so much into a canvas so small, and, perhaps, from the author's predeliction for domestic developments. His accurate, though somewhat summary, account of Catholic activities to influence our Mexican intervention, and oppose Philippine independence, is a case in point.

EDWIN A. BEILHARZ

University of Santa Clara

Ford. The Times, the Man, the Company. By Allan Nevins with the collaboration of Frank Ernest Hill. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1954. Pp. xx, 688. $6.75.)

Essentially a history of the Ford Motor Company prior to World War I, this study's detailed descriptions of mechanical techniques and mass-production methods will be of great value to devotees of technological history. After an introductory chapter on transportation in the nineteenth century, Professor Nevins launches into the youth of Henry Ford, the European origins of the motor car, the story of the gasoline motor, and the pioneer years of manufacturing. Otto, Daimler, Lenoir, and Marcus foreshadowed the work of the Duryeas, Haynes, Winton, Olds, the Dodge brothers, Leland, and Ford. The contributions of Ford's lieutenants (Couzens, Sorensen, Wills, Hawkins, Lee, Emde, Avery, Perry, and Knudsen) are also described. Industrial development, plant financing, the $5.00 day, labor policy, the Model T, the good roads movement, and Ford's struggle to break the Selden patent are highlighted, and this reviewer found the sections on early auto racing and the bicycle industry both original and informative.

Clearly perceived and organized, precise in delineation, balanced in judgment, and based on the researches of a staff who have utilized the Ford Motor Company Archives and its Oral History Section for the first time, this volume is a welcome addition to American business history. As a portrait of Ford in his creative years, it is both critical and laudatory. "The creator of the assembly line never quite assembled himself" (p. 581). In any re-evaluation of American businessmen, this must be considered a sober analysis remarkably free of the hero-villain approach so common in the past.

Unfortunately, Keith Sward's *The Legend of Henry Ford* is given short shrift, more credit is due the researches of Siegfried Giedion, and too much credence is placed in Ford's own words. Was mass production "fully born" in 1913 (p. 479)? The greatest fault is in what the book does not say about this enigmatical genius. A true portrait of the man must not only outline his career but also strive to penetrate his intellectual and moral convictions. That Ford remained a mystery, even to close associates, may cause historians to approach him with caution, but his actions and thoughts were so constantly exposed as to warrant a sharper picture of the man's mental processes.

The Ford legend will linger in American history despite his idiosyncracies, and despite the indictments of his detractors or the eulogies of his admirers. Although he capitalized on the rapidly changing industrial and social scene at the turn of the century, much of the achievement was of his own making. His was the driving spirit which brought mass produc-

tion to maturity, began the great revolution in twentieth-century transportation, and altered our way of life.

JOHN RICKARDS BETTS

Boston College

Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Apprenticeship; Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Ordeal. By Frank Freidel. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1952. 1954. Pp. 456; 320. $6.00 per volume.)

It is not ten years since Franklin Delano Roosevelt died in the Little White House at Warm Springs, Georgia, and yet there are few Americans who would refuse to rank him among the greatest of our presidents. The sheer fascination of trying to focus on the greatness of the man is bound to test the ingenuity of our best (and worst) historians. It is gratifying to report that Dr. Freidel has been so successful in launching what promises to become the finest of Roosevelt biographies. For not only has the author displayed much skill in historical research—he knows whereof he speaks—but he has also set a pattern of impartiality that is wholly admirable considering the difficulties one must overcome in recounting the life story of so complex an individual as Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The task of writing such a biography is a prodigious one. These two volumes take into account the years from the president's birth in 1882 to his election as Governor of New York in 1928. Volume I (subtitled *The Apprenticeship*) brings the reader up to the end of World War I and the part Roosevelt played in it as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Volume II (subtitled *The Ordeal*) concentrates on the years 1919-1928. It shows how a promising young Democrat, his party's nominee for vice president, suffered political eclipse with the rest of democracy in the election of 1920; how, in the very next year, he fell a victim to infantile paralysis; how he battled valiantly to regain the power of locomotion and how he finally came to triumph over disease and despair by being elected Governor of New York in 1928. Four more volumes will be needed to carry the work to completion. In a bibliographical note appended to Volume I the author observes that the Roosevelt family early acquired the habit of saving all their papers. "I have destroyed practically nothing," the president remarked to one of his friends. The result is an appalling avalanche of paper (said to weigh about forty tons) to which the serious-minded biographer must needs have recourse. Faced with such a mass of documentary material, the wonder of it is that Professor Freidel did not lose himself in a welter of minutiae. For the most part he avoids this hazard by not adhering slavishly to the order of chronology. Where occasion requires him to move ahead or apart from his story,

he makes it his practice to direct the reader to the foot of the page where the issue can be disposed of without sacrifice to the main leads in Roosevelt's life. Notes in substantiation of the text appear at the end of each volume. The text itself reads very well.

Though the author does not say it in so many words, nevertheless, it seems to this reviewer that he does very well to account for the tremendous success in life of the "farmer" from Hyde Park. For this Roosevelt did not become President of the United States as the result of mere political accident. There was much conscious effort behind his eventual tenancy in the White House. As Dr. Freidel writes it, the reader sees unfolding before him the life story of a man who was convinced that someday somehow he would become famous, *because he planned it that way.* Once committed to a career in politics, it is to be expected that he would become president. In the interim he must not be idle, since life can mean so much to one who is willing and eager to meet its challenges. The first impression is that of a young man in a hurry. Because he is determined to play as he works and work as he plays, he is the despair of his associates. Just as he is too much the debonair Democrat to satisfy the party regulars, so does he appear the too-ready-convert to progressivism to satisfy the long time liberals. Here is a young man who is forever looking beyond the burdens of the moment to scan other heights that must surely lie ahead. He seems to have so little staying power. He lacks the patience to think out a problem to its farthest reaches. Details are a bore to him. But appearances sometimes deceive. No one can say that he does not know how to get his work done nor how to get others to work for him. He does not discourage easily. No Roosevelt does. Neither is he the person to be diverted by misfortune. Indeed, this Roosevelt is apt to be sanguine to the point of presumption. Should fate deal him an unkindly blow, count on him to turn it to his own advantage. His triumph over the ravages of infantile paralysis is a case in point; he simply will not suffer defeat.

Of course, there is much more to come. What has been written thus far is mainly prologue to a future greatness. But an auspicious beginning has been made for which this generation of readers must long remain in debt to Dr. Freidel.

HARRY W. KIRWIN

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God's Country and Mine. By Jacques Barzun. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1954. Pp. 344. $5.00.)

When this book appeared some months ago it was greeted by paeans of praise from the book reviewers. There were intimations that Mr.

Barzun should be compared only to Tocqueville—apparently on the basis that both were Frenchmen who wrote approvingly about the United States. Indeed, if one forgets the final two-thirds of the book, there might be some point in the comparison. All who know Mr. Barzun will agree that he has a brilliant mind, an encyclopedic knowledge, and an engaging style. His opening chapters, in which he exposes the fallacies of contemporary European criticism of the United States, are a devastating piece of work and a pleasure to read. Diverting and illuminating insights are scattered throughout the volume. But as a whole the book has little in common with the imaginary volume so lavishly praised by the reviewers. The actual work is divided into four sections, meaninglessly titled after the four seasons. Why, perhaps the author knows. And each succeeding section is increasingly inconsequential. A full chapter informs us that New York City is noisy and dirty, another that the bed-side manners of doctors should be improved. The final, or Winter, section was obviously huddled together in a hurry. In the very last pages of the book, the author writes a paragraph about the Greek word *hubris* without first consulting his dictionary, whether Greek or English—an unfortunate oversight, for he completely mistakes the meaning of the Greek.

Since comparisons with the French are in order, it might be noted that one who listens to Mr. Barzun's classroom lectures gets the impression—at least the present writer did—that he is spiritually most at home in the French Enlightenment, a Diderot who approves of Rousseau. That Mr. Barzun will find the comparison just is indicated by the fact that he finds the American—that is, his own—spirit derived from three sources—the Enlightenment, romanticism, and what he terms "the native tradition of Deafness to Doctrine" (p. 16). Christianity is notably passed over. But every Jean Jacques should have his faith, and we are offered one, not from Savoy but from Morningside Heights. We are told that "there does not exist a single creed which a religious temperament educated in science, art, and democracy can accept" (p. 125). Now that we ignorant Catholics have been put in our place, we are ready for Mr. Barzun's revelation of his own religion. It is that of the pluralistic deity of William James, which the author has the grace and the accuracy to call polytheism. Evita Peron is called "a devout Catholic" and Saint Thomas More finds himself in the same sentence as communism (pp. 20, 21). But fortunately, Mr. Barzun spends few words on Catholicism. For which small favor we should be duly grateful.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

With the first issue of the new Volume XLI, the REVIEW welcomes three new advisory editors. Edward Gargan, assistant professor of history in Loyola University, Chicago, took his undergraduate degree in 1945 at Brooklyn College and did his graduate work at the Catholic University of America where his doctoral dissertation was on the subject, "The Education of Alexis de Tocqueville. The Critical Years, 1848-1852." Mr. Gargan taught at Boston College and the Sheil School of Social Studies before his appointment as a member of the Department of History at Loyola in September, 1953, where he has specialized in the intellectual history of modern Europe. George L. A. Reilly, assistant professor of history in Seton Hall University, completed his undergraduate work at Seton Hall in 1940 and then went to Harvard University where he took the master's degree in 1942 with a thesis on "St. George Mivart and the Foreshadowings of Pre-Modernism." Mr. Reilly's graduate work was interrupted by military service during World War II when he earned the rank of lieutenant in the field artillery. In 1951 he finished his work for the Ph.D. at Columbia University with a dissertation on "The Camden and Amboy Railroad in New Jersey Politics, 1830-1871." After filling teaching posts at Caldwell College and Rutgers University he joined the faculty of Seton Hall University in 1951, where he specializes in nineteenth-century American history. His volume, *Sacred Heart in Bloomfield: A Diamond Jubilee of the Parish, 1878-1953,* appeared two years ago. Walter W. Wilkinson, associate professor of history in Georgetown University, completed his undergraduate work at Rice Institute and then took the doctorate at Georgetown in 1939 with a thesis on "Territorial Expansion of the Republic of Venice, 1495-1503." After a period of military service Mr. Wilkinson began his teaching at Georgetown in 1946 and has since that time continued to specialize in the history of the Renaissance.

On November 16, 1954, the National Historical Publications Commission presented a report to President Eisenhower entitled *A National Program for the Publication of Historical Documents* (Government Printing Office, 106 pages, 50c). Thirty-five pages are devoted to a description of the scope and aims of this important and pioneering national program that is being carried out within the framework of the National Archives and Records Service. There is a brief review of past publishing activities by state historical societies, the American Historical Association,

and other non-profit organizations such as the Carnegie Institution, as also the commercial venture centering around the writings of the founding fathers. The federal government has been a patron of such publications since 1778 and among the most useful were the thirty-eight volumes of the *American State Papers,* the last of which appeared in 1861. Since then only irregular coverage of phases of our national history, especially the military and diplomatic, have come under governmental efforts for the publication of documents. This report goes on to describe the plans and progress of the commission in fostering the publication of papers of American leaders and of those pertaining to subject fields. In this latter group the commission is working toward the editing of the records of the Continental Congress, the ratification of the Constitution, the first ten amendments (described in the second appendix), and the proceedings of the first federal Congress. An immediate aim of the commission is a guide to manuscript depositories. This report encourages foundations to help in the cause of documentary publications and goes so far as to assert—with no promise of its being heard—that the federal government "should make its proportionate contributions to a national program." The first appendix lists the 112 persons whose names are recommended to any and all interested agencies as those most worthy of having their papers published because of their contribution to American life. Readers of the REVIEW will note with particular interest the inclusion of Archbishop Carroll, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Cardinal Gibbons, Benjamin Latrobe, Justice Roger B. Taney, and Terence V. Powderly. Among those who were given a secondary recommendation are John Mitchell, Alfred E. Smith, Thomas J. Walsh, and Archbishops Francis N. Blanchet, John Hughes, and John Ireland, as well as Fathers Pierre De Smet and Junípero Serra. A concluding appendix in this encouraging and interesting booklet in American historiography is a selective list of documentary historical publications of the United States government.

The annual report of the Secretary of the Commission for Catholic Missions Among the Colored People and the Indians for the year 1954 reveals a total of 476,895 colored Catholics in the United States at the present time, a gain of approximately 20,000 over the figure for 1953. Of these, 10,061 were adult converts. The colored apostolate is now served by 655 priests in 468 churches, and the Negro Catholics have 332 schools with an enrollment of 79,234 students. These gains are encouraging, but the total of American Catholic Negroes still remains exceedingly small when measured against the nearly fifteen million colored people in the country. The proportion of Indian Catholics in the United States is much higher—111,321 out of the approximately 345,000 persons of Indian blood estimated by the Bureau of the Census. The Indians are cared for

by 228 priests in 410 churches, and last year there were 758 adult Indian converts and their fifty-eight schools enroll a total of 8,063 students.

The largest number of colored Catholics, 72,000, still reside in the Diocese of Lafayette, Louisiana, while the next three largest concentrations of Negro Catholics are to be found in the Archdioceses of New Orleans (69,205), Washington (44,904), and New York (43,487). The Catholic Indians are most numerous in the Dioceses of Gallup (15,672), Rapid City (11,431), and Tucson (10,432). The commission's receipts during 1954 totaled $1,276,561.26. The three highest contributors to this total were the Archdiocese of Philadelphia ($77,379.41), the Diocese of Pittsburgh ($65,258.22), and the Archdiocese of Chicago ($61,250). On a diocesan basis the largest disbursements were made by the commission to the Diocese of Lafayette ($39,000), Tucson ($37,500), and Savannah-Atlanta ($35,000).

The Committee on International Relations and the Center for Soviet and East European Studies of the University of Notre Dame conducted a symposium on February 11 on "The Fate of East Central Europe: Hopes and Failures of American Foreign Policy." Participants numbered Philip E. Mosely of Columbia University, Robert F. Byrnes of the Mid-European Studies Center, Nicholas Spulber of Indiana University, and Representative Alvin M. Bentley of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Professor Stephen D. Kertesz of Notre Dame was moderator.

Plans are underway to hold the third International Colloquium on Luso-Brazilian Studies in Lisbon, Portugal, some time during the summer of 1956. The first colloquium took place in Washington, D. C., in 1950, an event of the Library of Congress' bi-centennial; the second, last year, in São Paulo, in connection with the city's quadri-centennial. It is appropriate that the next colloquium should now be sponsored by Portugal, and undoubtedly many scholars in the United States interested in the Portuguese-speaking world will want to attend the Lisbon meetings.

Students of all fields of history will find it profitable to read the inaugural lecture of David Knowles, O.S.B., as Regius professor of modern history in the University of Cambridge which was delivered on November 17, 1954. The title of the lecture was *The Historian and Character* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1955. Pp. 22. 50c). Through a judicious and meaningful selection of illustrations, such as Motley on Philip II and Mommsen on Caesar, Dom Knowles gave warn-

ing of the pitfalls that may entrap the historian, in the sense of presenting "a character such as never was on sea or land" (p. 4). The historian must before all be sincere, and he must have the ability to distinguish between ethical excellence and the natural gifts and ability in those about whom he writes. Other snares to be avoided are charm, which can "dazzle the mind's eye and blind the judgment" (p. 7), wit, and the failure to keep a man's cause, party, or religion apart from his character. But the greatest of all potential difficulties is, in the judgment of the author, "the profession of a religious ideal" (p. 9). The qualities to be sought in a man, the final and most precious thing he possesses and represents, is his goodness of will, achieved by conscious and tenacious choice. In conclusion Dom Knowles states that it is the historian's task

> to see whether a man, by and large during his life, shows any evidence of acting according to a divine or moral law outside himself, whether he ever sacrifices his own profit or pleasure for the sake of a person or a principle; whether he shows evidence of loving other men, where by love we understand the classical definition of wishing them well and doing well to them; whether he puts justice before expediency; whether he is sincere and truthful (pp. 19-20).

During the coming summer the second Institute on Records Management will be held in Washington on June 20-July 1 and the first Institute on the Preservation and Administration of Archives: Advanced, on July 5-16. Both are under the auspices of the American University and are conducted in co-operation with the National Archives and Records Service and the Maryland Hall of Records. Inquiries should be addressed to the director, Professor Ernst Posner, 1901 F Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

The problem of increasing student enrollment in the high schools and colleges will have a direct effect on the graduate schools of the country, providing teaching opportunities for graduates and an increase in the enrollment in graduate schools. The multiplication of Catholic high schools since the war in our larger cities, without a corresponding increase in religious vocations, will necessarily widen the breech between the number of teachers available and the increase in student body. Already the increase in the number of lay teachers even in the primary Catholic schools has been advocated, but no one has yet estimated where the funds for training these additional Catholic lay teachers will be found. This problem of funds for advanced training has become a serious factor for the young men who have to give two or three years after college to the armed forces. These next years must see additional fellowships and scholarships for prospective teachers given to our Catholic colleges and universities if the added burden of later years is to be met.

A group of Kansas historians has been organized to write a four-volume centennial history of the state. Among the contributors will be Sister M. Evangeline Thomas, professor of history in Marymount College, Salina, who has been assigned one chapter on "The Catholic Church in Kansas" and a second chapter on "Roads, Symbols of Progress."

L'actualité religieuse dans le monde, which appears twice a month, had published forty-two numbers by the end of 1954. Under Catholic auspices, it presents in its thirty-two pages a report on the religious scene throughout the world, including as many as twenty countries in an issue. It puts special emphasis on Rome and France. The review is attractively printed with illustrations of persons prominent in the religious news. It frequently gives the text of important talks and documents. The annual subscription outside of France is 1,800 francs. (28 Boulevard des Invalides, Paris 7e.)

A note in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (XLIX [1954], 1007-1008) analyses briefly and praises two articles of John Courtney Murray's on "Leo XIII on Church and State" published in *Theological Studies*. The author promises to take up subsequent articles of Father Murray.

Fascicle LXXV of the *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* covers articles from Consalvi to Constantinople. Professor J. R. Palanque gives a good résumé of the status of research on Constantine the Great. A large part of the fascicle is devoted to the treatment of the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople by Père R. Janin.

The December number of *Revista eclesiástica brasileira* gives a general index of the journal from 1941 to 1954.

A. Tortajada and C. de Amaniel have prepared a very useful two-volume index of the articles appearing in the 128 reviews published by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas from 1939 to 1949 (Madrid, 1952).

The January number of the *Review of Politics* is a memorial issue to the late editor Waldemar Gurian. Ten of his friends and colleagues pay tribute to Professor Gurian and his writings.

The golden jubilee of Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., for many years a member of the faculty of the Catholic University of America and at present at Quincy College, has furnished the editors of *The Americas*, published by the Academy of American Franciscan History, with the occasion to dedicate their January, 1955, number to him. The articles

in this issue, written especially in honor of Father Steck, and devoted exclusively to Franciscan history, are by Antonine Tibesar, Rafael Heliodoro Valle, Mathias C. Kiemen, Lino G. Canedo, Paul V. Murray, Lázaro Lamadrid, George C. A. Boehrer, Atanasio G. Saravia, Joaquín Meade, Fernando Ocaranza, and Juan Meseguer Fernández. The CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW joins with the academy and with Father Steck's other friends in wishing the jubilarian many more years of service to historical scholarship.

The following promotions have taken place in the Department of History at the Catholic University of America: Manoel Cardozo to the rank of professor; Henry J. Browne to the rank of associate professor; and Brian Tierney to the rank of assistant professor.

Walter Gray has been appointed instructor in history in the University of Notre Dame and Professor Fritz Fisher of the University of Hamburg is visiting professor of history at Notre Dame during the spring semester.

Mary P. Holleran, Dean of Faculty at Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia, has been appointed as American representative on the Inter-American Cultural Council to succeed Professor Lewis Hanke of the University of Texas.

The following promotions have been made in the Department of History at St. John's College, Brooklyn: Robert Lacour-Gayet to the rank of professor; Gaetano L. Vincitorio to associate professor, and Frederick Benincasa and James E. Bunce to the rank of assistant professor.

John Tracy Ellis, professor of church history in the Catholic University of America, and managing editor of the REVIEW, delivered four lectures on the Walgreen Foundation at the University of Chicago, January 24-28. Father Ellis' lectures constituted an historical survey of Catholicism in the United States and will be published in book form by the University of Chicago Press at a later date.

On February 14 Carlton J. H. Hayes delivered the inaugural lecture before the recently established Historical Society of St. John's College, Brooklyn. The subject of the lecture was "History: Its Use and Abuse."

Between February 24 and March 31 Iona College sponsored a series of five lectures on the general subject of "The Derivation of American Freedom," with the speakers drawn from the faculty of the college.

John H. Parry of the University College of the West Indies, who is widely known for his work on the history of the Spanish Empire, is teaching this year at Harvard University.

Javier Malagón, formerly on the staff of the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, with headquarters in Mexico City, has been appointed editor of the *Inter-American Bibliographical Review*, published by the Pan American Union.

Paul Henry, S.J., of the Catholic University of Louvain, delivered a series of six lectures on "The Christian Doctrine of God and Its Development" on February 28-March 5 in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford.

Ernst Honigmann, professor at the University of Brussels, died on July 30, 1954. An outstanding scholar on Byzantine history, he was the chief authority on ecclesiastical geography of the Near East. The Byzantine field was greatly enriched by his numerous books and articles. He was a convert to the Catholic Church.

Père Martin Jugie, a member of the Congregation of the Augustinians of the Assumption, died last fall at the age of seventy-seven. For decades his work on the Immaculate Conception in oriental theology has been the manual of all who seek information in that field. Fortunately it appeared in a newly edited volume recently: *L'Immaculée Conception dans l'écriture sainte et dans la tradition orientale* (Rome: Officium Libri Catholici, Piazza Ponte S. Angelo 28. 1952).

Old St. Mary's, the Paulist church in San Francisco's Chinatown, celebrated its centenary November 27-December 5, 1954. Originally the cathedral, it was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception a few weeks after the promulgation of the dogma on December 8, 1854. Archbishop Riordan completed a new cathedral in 1891 and the Paulists were invited to take over old St. Mary's in 1894.

As part of the celebration of the centenary of the location at its present site, St. Mary's College at Notre Dame broke ground on February 26 for the new Moreau Fine Arts Building and the O'Laughlin Auditorium. The center of this community of the Sisters of Holy Cross was originally situated at Bertrand, Michigan, from 1843 to 1855.

BRIEF NOTICES

ALLEN, JERRY. *The Adventures of Mark Twain.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1954. Pp. xii, 359. $4.50.)

This newest addition to the already formidable volume of Mark Twain literature adds little, if anything, in a factual or critical sense, to the works which have preceded it. Nevertheless, Miss Allen's book may prove a popular one because of the imaginative vigor of its style. Although a thoroughly fictionized biography, *The Adventures of Mark Twain* is not inaccurate, either in its presentation of the facts of Clemens' life or in its descriptive background. The subject, however, lends itself to sensational treatment. When dealing with life in Nevada during the silver boom, or on the Mississippi during the Civil War, fancy could be little more melodramatic than fact. If the early chapters are almost too rich in murders, the later ones, which deal largely with the family life of the great humorist, are somewhat overcharged with sentiment. The mellow balance that characterized Twain's own work appears rarely in these pages.

The author loses few opportunities to stress the anti-religious outlook of Samuel Clemens, nor is there much effort to discriminate between his understandable distaste for the Victorian conventional pattern and his much more significant rejection of all revealed religion. In defense of the author it must be admitted that the "gilded age" itself confused the issue in a way that makes it difficult for any account of the period to avoid following suit.

The weaknesses and the advantages of fictionized biography are alike well illustrated in this volume, but it will probably hold its own, even in so crowded a field. (SISTER JOAN BLAND)

BELLONCI, MARIA. *The Life and Times of Lucrezia Borgia.* Translated by Bernard and Barbara Wall. (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co. 1953. Pp. 343. $5.00.)

To have been a minor figure caught beyond her personal depth in the petty dynastic alliances and intrigues of Renaissance Italy was Lucrezia Borgia's fate in life, and to have been maligned out of all proportion to either her importance or her guilt was her fate after death. Today her reputation has been salvaged, albeit rendered colorless. Partially responsible for the popularization of this refocused portrayal was the Italian publication of this work in 1939. This translation has fatally abridged the original work, cutting more than 300 pages and deleting the notes and an appendix of contemporary documents. This abridgement has heightened the major defect of the original work, the author's exclusive interest in the personality of Lucrezia and the individuals surrounding her. There is little attempt to probe beneath the licentiousness of the Italian Renaissance, nor to examine in any but the most naive terms the political milieu of the age. Of no value to the specialist, this book stands exclusively

as a subjective consideration of the marital and extra-marital relationships of the Borgia clan. The result is a meaningless exposition of speculative history. The author's poor sense of historical evidence leads her to conclusions that cannot be validated. For example, she admits the conclusions of Pastor that there are no certain proofs implicating Cesare Borgia in the murder of his brother, Juan. This, however, does not deter her from concluding his guilt on the grounds that ". . . it is above all the uncertainty and the confusion of the various hypotheses, the complex chain of circumstances that no one has been able to unravel, which seem to me to reveal the hand of Cesare Borgia. . ." (p. 90). This is a patent disregard of the normal rules of common sense. The author rejects the acquittal of Alexander VI by historians on the charge of incest, giving credence to the self-interested account of Giovanni Sforza. She asks whether Sforza was ". . . in the possession of certain knowledge—something more than mere hints and suspicions: had he seen an unmistakable gleam in the eyes of his father-in-law?" (p. 95). An author operating on the basis of such evidence cannot but cast doubt on the totality of her work. With much more valuable and entertaining material on the Renaissance remaining to be made available in translation one wonders at the publisher's selection of so superficial a work. (EDMUND W. KEARNEY)

BIELER, LUDWIG. *Libri epistolarum Sancti Patricii episcopi.* Part I. *Introduction and Text* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, Stationery Office. 1952. Pp. 150. 21s.)

Professor Bieler, through his numerous scholarly publications on St. Patrick and the problems of his life and work, has become recognized as the leading scholar in the field of Patrician studies. He has now given us an excellent critical edition of St. Patrick's Latin writings which is superior to that of Newport White and meets all the requirements of modern technical criticism. For details on the mss., their relationship, the establishment of the text, etc., the reader is referred to my review in *Traditio,* VIII (1952), 449-455. Part II will contain a commentary and should appear in the near future. Both Parts I and II have already been published as long articles in the Danish journal, *Classica et mediaevalia.* Through the kind offices of the editor, Professor Blatt, they are being reprinted as books by the Irish Manuscripts Commission, and are thus being made more easily accessible to English readers. In the meantime, Professor Bieler has published a new English translation of the works of St. Patrick, with an introduction and notes, in Ancient Christian Writers, No. 17 (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press. 1953). (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

BRADFORD, ERNLE. *Four Centuries of European Jewellery.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1953. Pp. 226. $12.00.)

This beautifully illustrated book is addressed to the beginner in the study of jewelry, and is intended to point out to anyone with appropriate leisure and

means, the pleasures of connoisseurship and collecting in this glittering field. As the orthography of the title indicates, the book is British, despite its American imprint, and this holds not only for such externals as spelling and printing, but also for the point of view throughout. The substance of the book falls into two divisions: a survey of jewelry from the Renaissance to the present, and a series of chapters on special topics, such as diamond jewellery, rings, birthstones, the craft of gem-cutting, and the like. The author was somehow persuaded to precede the first of these divisions with an introduction, a sort of running start, beginning with Ur and coming all the way down to the Renaissance. Such a performance is necessarily sketchy and fraught with inevitable dangers. It is disturbing to read the bald statement: "Much Byzantine jeweller's work was destroyed during the period of ferocious iconoclasm under Basil in the ninth century"; and further on in connection with the later Middle Ages: "The ecclesiastical tradition of non-representational figure work, however, still held back the craftsman of the time from the full exploitation of his material." Yet when he gets to his real theme, European jewelry of recent centuries—about five instead of four—the author has his feet on the ground and is very instructive. The utility of the book is increased by a glossary of terms and a brief bibliography. (JOHN SHAPLEY)

BRADY, IGNATIUS, O.F.M. *The Legend and Writings of Saint Clare of Assisi.* (St. Bonaventure: Franciscan Institute. 1953. Pp. xiv, 177.)

The Franciscan Institute has honored the seventh centenary (1953) of the death of St. Clare of Assisi by bringing together in one inexpensive volume a translation of the principal source materials on the saint, beginning with the Legend of Thomas of Celano. St. Clare was, as she describes herself, "the little plant of St. Francis," and as such, her sanctity is usually seen as a reflection of his rather than in its own splendor. In this volume, however, the vigor of her character appears, especially through her own writings, the rule, the testament, and to a lesser degree, in her letters, five of which are here reproduced. Ecclesiastical documents concerning the saint and a few letters written to her are included. A series of short chapters entitled "Studies" concludes the work. These last are adaptations by Sister M. Frances, S.M.I.C., from the original German of the Reverend Lothar Hardick, O.F.M., and are analyses of various aspects of Clare's sanctity; which, by the way, Father Hardick seems to feel depended pretty absolutely on Francis', for he says in general, "Her (a woman's) capacity for sacrifice, etc., etc., allow her to reach the heights of heroism once the man has shown her the way." The work also includes a good, brief introduction, chronological tables which parallel the development of the first and second orders, the Poor Ladies with the friars, and notes for each section, unfortunately placed at the end of the volume.

In this small but comprehensive volume the Franciscan Institute has rendered good service to the memory of St. Clare by bringing her vividly before us through a translation of the contemporary sources, in particular, her own writings. (SISTER CONSUELO MARIA AHERNE)

BROWDER, ROBERT PAUL. *The Origins of Soviet-American Diplomacy.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 256. $5.00.)

"Unfortunately, decisions reached behind the Kremlin walls are not disclosed to the historian" (p. 130). This sentence, while in no way completely invalidating the work of its author, nonetheless, indicates the difficulty experienced by at least two people in its regard: the author in writing the work and the reviewer in attempting to appraise it. It whispers, if it does not shout, *caveat lector.*

Mr. Browder's work is a unique one. It is an attempt to study and evaluate the negotiations entered into by the United States and the USSR in the period 1929-1935 which were to result in the recognition by the United States of the *de facto* government of Soviet Russia on the morning of November 17, 1933. Unfortunately, Browder is not Fischer: nor the "dark" years before 1953 the "halycon" ones after 1920, as far as the researcher is concerned. But that is not all. The author also includes detailed considerations of other factors, tangible and intangible, which had their effects upon the negotiations. These factors included the world's precarious financial state after October, 1929, the Far Eastern situation, and the extent to which the climate of American public opinion influenced American foreign policy. In all of these the author appears on fairly sure ground; it is, rather, in the central portion of his "structure" that the weaknesses, summed up in his one sentence on page 130, become apparent.

Of not the least importance, however, is Mr. Browder's temperate summation of the entire proceeding in what he calls "Recognition Assessed." This is very happily done. One might wish, though, that he had developed further his points on the weight of American public opinion and spent somewhat less time on the financial matters involved. (JOHN WILLIAM MURPHY)

BROWN, CLARENCE ARTHUR (Ed.). *The Achievement of American Criticism.* (New York: Ronald Press Co. 1954. Pp. 724. $7.50.)

Sixty-three essays by forty-six American authors, from Cotton Mather of colonial times to Cleanth Brooks of our own day, comprise this "first anthology of American criticism." Arranged chronologically, they treat the major problems and figures of significant movements in the history of American letters. A prefatory essay introduces each of the four parts of the collection—Origins of American Critical Theory, Aesthetics of Romanticism, Realism and Aestheticism, and Trends in Modern Literary Criticism—by providing a satisfactory survey of the principles of particular critics or schools of critics that flourished within the period. A selected bibliography of American criticism runs to thirty-six pages. There is generous annotation of the abundant footnote references throughout the volume. The student is thereby directed to primary sources and to dependable secondary works for his assessment of both general and particular problems. Woe to that student, however, if he comes to this book without thorough grounding in the nature and function of criticism! And double woe to him if he comes without firmly disciplined distinctions among literary theory, literary history, and the history of literary theory! The ten-page fore-

word designed to initiate him cannot be depended upon for the precision that is crucial in these matters. He will do well to put it by and to found his study of critical texts on the fact that the word "criticism" means "judgment," and that the function of the literary critic is the making of judgments about literary works. He will have to suffer as bravely as he can the unnerving probability that this kind of work will seem to make of the critic a scholar "devoted to technicalities" and not "a *man* (italics not mine) with very human and many-sided interests, who seems to be taking [him] into his confidence in the warmth of his cozy fireside" (p. xviii). (ANNE MARIE MCNAMARA)

BURNABY, J. *Education, Religion, Learning and Research.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1953. Pp. 26. 50¢); H. H. PRICE. *Some Aspects of the Conflict Between Science and Religion.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1953. Pp. v, 54. 75¢.)

These two booklets are lectures delivered during 1953 at the University of Cambridge. The first of them is the inaugural lecture of the Regius professor of divinity in which he sketches his ideas on the place of a faculty of theology in a great university and the approach to its subject suitable to such a faculty. Though the lecture contains some interesting observations, it is well to note that the author's concept of theology is not that of a Catholic theologian. In a Catholic's terminology, what Dr. Burnaby calls theology can best be described as a cross between theodicy and apologetics. He demands of the theologian no other belief than "faith in the presence of the Spirit of truth guiding into all truth those who will follow with reverence and without fear." The theologian must expect his beliefs to follow his studies and to be ever capable of revision according to where his studies lead him. The author rejects all ecclesiastical authority and reduces the Sacred Books to "a collection of historical documents to be understood and evaluated by the methods applicable to any other body of literature or period of history."

The kindest thing that can be said of the second of these little books is that it is a logician's doodle. Price maintains that a large majority of western educated people accept a materialistic conception of human nature. Consequently they cannot accept the possibility of the existence of God or the immortality of the soul, because these basic postulates of religious people cannot be proven and can be accepted only as a result of some kind of religious experience which falls into the general category of extra-sensory perception. He claims that the widely accepted materialistic viewpoint must be moderated as a result of the evidence for telepathy and trance-mediumship. This moderation opens the way to acceptance of the possibility of religious experience. If the author understands as little about science as he does about religion his total want of understanding reaches gigantic proportions. (AUGUSTINE ROCK)

CATTON, BRUCE. *U. S. Grant and the American Military Tradition.* Edited by Oscar Handlin. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1954. Pp. x, 201. $3.00.)

This work is not a biography in the strict sense, nor does the author claim it to be such. It is, rather, an interpretation or study of Grant's fantastic career

and of the troubled times in which he lived. The volume is the first publication of the Library of American Biography Series, edited by Oscar Handlin. The message on the rear jacket states that each author of the series:

> . . . analyzes the relationship of the individual to history, of the man to the events in which he is involved, viewing him as neither the maker of his times nor their product, but instead seeing each as a force reacting on the other. The subject of these biographies is thus not the complete man or the complete society, but the points at which the two interact.

The contents of the work total up to a dispassionate appraisal of Grant's life from birth to his death in 1886. The entire narrative moves quickly and at no time does it lag or become bogged down with inconsequential detail. The author employs a simple, clear, easily readable style throughout. He has seen fit to dispense with the use of footnotes, but has included a brief and pertinent critical bibliography. Catton treats his subject's early military career in sympathetic fashion and gives little credence to the oft-repeated accusations that Grant was given to the excessive consumption of liquor. Grant's meteoric rise to the command of the Union armies and his unfortunate presidential administrations are described objectively with no attempt to over-enthuse at success nor to indulge in harsh criticism at failure. The author exercises great care in making distinction between Grant's honest mistakes of judgment, his political ineptness, and his personal honesty and sincerity. (BRENDAN C. MCNALLY)

CHADWICK, NORA K. (Ed.). *Studies in Early British History*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1954. Pp. vii, 282. $6.00.)

This series of essays by a group of Cambridge scholars is centered upon the comparatively brief period of Celtic independence between the end of Roman rule in Britain and the occupation of the island by the Anglo-Saxons. The nucleus for the collection consists of three chapters left by the late H. M. Chadwick, which were intended for a proposed work on Celtic Britain. These have been prepared for the press by his widow, Nora K. Chadwick, who has added brief comments of her own to two of these chapters, and has contributed a lengthy essay on "Intellectual Contacts Between Britain and Gaul in the Fifth Century." The other contributors are Kenneth Jackson with an essay on the British language of this era; Rachel Bromwich with one on Welsh traditions; Peter Hunter Blair on "The Bernicians and their Northern Frontier;" and Owen K. Chadwick on the dedications of early Welsh churches.

The portions of this volume devoted to political history of the Welsh area are of necessity tentative and fragmentary, based as they are on revaluation and reconciling of meagre, and frequently late, traditional sources. The story of Vortigern, e.g., is analyzed on the basis of both Irish and Breton, as well as Welsh saga traditions. Folklorist rather than historical methodology is employed which yields only probabilities of the most tenuous nature. On the other hand, Mr. Blair's essay on the northern frontier of Bernicia is firmly reasoned and admirably lucid. Mr. Owen Chadwick's conclusions on the dedications of Welsh churches are judiciously linked with continental practices in this matter.

Rachel Bromwich offers a very enlightening survey of the early Welsh literary tradition whose beginnings she traces to this very epoch. Mrs. Chadwick assembles a great mass of evidence for mutual intellectual influence between Britain and Aquitaine in particular, but seems to strain probabilities in much of her argument. Mr. Jackson, in addition to deriving evidence of the stages of Anglo-Saxon expansion from British toponymy, also traces the phonetic changes occurring in British dialects up to the emergence of Old Welsh, Old Cornish, and Old Breton in the eighth century.

The volume as a whole, though relying on a chronological period as its chief basis for unity, has well-rounded completeness despite its multiple authors with their own special interests. (CYRIL E. SMITH)

CROSS, SAMUEL HAZZARD and OLGERD P. SHERBOWITZ-WETZOR (Trans. and Eds.). *The Russian Primary Chronicle, Laurentian Text.* [Mediaeval Academy of America Publications No. 60.] (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1953. Pp. xii, 313. $5.00.)

Practically all extant Russian chronicles include a generally uniform account of the period extending from the traditional origins of the Rus State at Kiev to the early twelfth century. This narrative, called until the nineteenth century the "Chronicle of Nestor" and known now simply as the "Primary Chronicle," is preserved in two outstanding redactions. The earlier of these, the Laurentian, was translated into English for the first time by Cross in 1930. The present work is a revision with extensive introduction and commentary begun by Cross and completed after his death by Sherbowitz-Wetzor. After a brief account of the manuscripts, editions, and translations, the introduction agrees, under "Authorship" and "Composition," that the Primary Chronicle was not compiled by Nestor, and, contrary to Shakhmatov and Istrin, holds that it is a homogeneous work, the product of one writer about 1113 A.D. The "Sources" and "Chronology" are then discussed. Finally, the "Traditional Origin of Rus" gives a very fine summary of what is now known about the primitive history of the Slavs and the Norse derivation of the Rus. The detailed notes provide an excellent historical and topographical commentary with up-to-date bibliography. Other valuable aids are two maps, chronological tables of the chief Ruricid princes, a genealogical diagram, and an index of proper names. This work is packed with information and the student of Russia or Byzantium will discover in it an invaluable reference manual. In fact, I would recommend its pleasant translation and illuminating notes to anyone who was looking for an interesting introduction to mediaeval Russia. (MARTIN J. HIGGINS)

CROUSE, NELLIE M. *Lemoyne D'Iberville: Soldier of New France.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1954. Pp. x, 280. $4.00.)

Like the other works produced by the author during a quarter-century, this is a good story. Like its predecessors, too, it is a sound and well balanced account based upon the original narratives. As far as the extant sources make it

possible—and only so far—Pierre Lemoyne d'Iberville (1661-1796) comes alive in these pages. One of the numerous and distinguished sons of Charles Lemoyne of Montreal (his brothers included Longueuil, Sainte Helene, Serigny, and Bienville as well as Assigny and Chateauguay), Iberville in his forty-five years became, perhaps, the greatest native Canadian of his time. His exploits ranged from the contest with the English over Hudson's Bay, to Newfoundland and Pemaquid and, after 1697, to the Province of Louisiana and the West Indies. His powers grew steadily as the years lengthened. He emerges as a naval commander and a land commander of skill and shrewd daring, as a "wilderness diplomat," and as a respected counsellor to the royal government. The very willingness of Louis XIV and his ministers to listen to this colonial and to entrust large responsibility to him is in itself some measure of Iberville's stature.

His work and plans as the founder of Louisiana, his broad and detailed grasp of the province's potentialities, show that this was a man fit for the task of reducing La Salle's dreams to reality. Although appointed Louisiana's first governor after the foundations had been laid, Iberville never reached the province again. Deflected into the command of a large naval and land force, he performed brilliantly in the capture of the British West Indian island of Nevis. In July, 1706, at Havana he fell victim to yellow fever. His death, at the height of his mature powers, was a great loss to the cause of France in America.

It may well be repeated that this is a good story. The author's tale of actions stretching from Hudson's Bay to Nevis is clear, fast-moving, graphic. Each action has the quality of freshness, as if it were unfolding before one's eyes. The reader will remember the single-handed fight of Iberville's *Pelican* against the powerful *Hampshire*, the *Hudson's Bay* and the *Dering* (pp. 142-147). There are excellent, detailed descriptions of many fortifications. Iberville himself is kept in his proper proportions in the context of his times and surroundings. His greatness emerges without a biographer's distortion and with no gloss over any clear fault. (ROBERT P. FOGERTY)

EASTON, STEWART C. *Roger Bacon and His Search for a Universal Science.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1952. Pp. vii, 255. $4.00.)

The basic assumption of this well written life of Roger Bacon is the conviction that Bacon chose the wrong series of graduate courses; that is to say, he decided to study philosophy in an era when theology was in vogue. Hence, "the subconscious realization that he had made a wrong decision accounts for the whole of Bacon's later career and his peculiar psychological disposition in a remarkable manner" (p. 30). Undoubtedly the author shows a wide acquaintance with the materials written by or about the Franciscan, and one of the most valuable parts of the book are the clear summaries and bibliographical data concerning the many controversies which have arisen about him. Of course, the author has to admit that much of our knowledge of Roger is a bit tenuous, and words like "perhaps" and "probably" accompany most of his judgments. A good example of his method is found in the following quotation: "We simply do not *know* what Bacon did at this time . . . I shall therefore . . . try to indi-

cate the choices before him, show what he could not have done, and finally by the process of elimination suggest what he probably did" (p. 19).

In his conclusion Mr. Easton hopes that "if there is much in this study that is hypocritical and much that is constructed out of rather slender evidence, it may at least serve to stimulate further thought and research." The book will certainly do that. (LOWRIE J. DALY)

FRYE, RICHARD N. *The History of Bukhara.* (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1954. Pp. xx, 178. $5.00.)

Professor Frye of Harvard here presents a translation from the Persian of Narshakhi's mediaeval history of Bukhara, an important source for the pre-Islamic as well as the later history of this ancient city of Turkestan, located north of the Oxus River, along with Samarkand. Besides historians, linguists and archeologists will also find the abridged version of Narshakhi's work a valuable source; it is also unique for Bukhara since it is the only such history that has survived. It was originally written in Arabic about 944, translated into Persian in 1128, and an abridged copy was made in that same century. For his doctoral thesis Frye found it necessary to establish a critical text for the translation. However, he decided to base this English translation upon the best printed edition (Teheran) available, with a minimum of variant readings. The translation reads smoothly enough, even with the author's avowed intention of making it as literal as possible. Frye's copious explanatory notes (pp. 103-159) are an extremely valuable supplement to Narshakhi's text. (ROLAND E. MURPHY)

GATES, PAUL WALLACE, HELEN MAUD CAM, and HAJO HOLBORN. *Liberalism as a Force in History: Lectures on Aspects of the Liberal Tradition.* (New London: Connecticut College. 1953. Pp. 52. $2.00.)

The sub-title of this little volume is a more accurate description of its contents than the somewhat misleading title. These three lectures by established scholars in their fields constitute the third volume of the Henry Wells Lawrence Memorial Lectures given annually at Connecticut College. Professor Holborn's discussion is on "Reasons for the Failure of the Paris Peace Settlement"; Professor Gates traces the trend "From Individualism to Collectivism in American Land Policy"; and Professor Cam describes "Representative Institutions in England and Europe in the Fifteenth Century in Relation to Later Developments."

These lectures are useful summations of more scholarly work done on each of these subjects by the author and other specialists in the field. None of them offers anything substantially new, either in substance or in viewpoint. The volume is more useful, then, to the undergraduate than to the scholar in any of these fields. (THOMAS P. NEILL)

GOODWIN, A. *The French Revolution.* [Hutchinson's University Library.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Inc. 1954. Pp. 192. $1.80, text; $2.40, trade.)

Professor Goodwin's book takes its place in the ever continuing parade of works on the subject. The redeeming feature of this work is a candid statement by the publisher which appears on the flyleaf of the paper jacket. The purpose of this extremely short handbook is "to make available to the general public the changing interpretations of the French Revolution of 1789 which have resulted from the researches of French and other historical scholars during the past generation." In less than 200 pages Professor Goodwin succeeds in packing a considerable amount of historical research on the revolution. The treatment of Calonne's administration is adequate and enlightening. By a greater than average emphasis on the economic background of the revolution, the author is able to point up the social and political pressures that were bursting at the seams. Another instance of thoroughness is the treatment given to the domestic unrest in the United Provinces, the intervention there of Frederick William II of Prussia, and the effect of the resultant Triple Alliance of 1788 on French prestige. These, of course, are relatively small factors, but they serve to highlight the reason for this volume. There is considerable evidence of the intention of the author to bring together the changing interpretations of the revolution during the past generation. Instances of this are: the motivation of the assault on the Bastille; the session of August 4 when fear rather than spontaneous generosity seemed to have been the generating force; the over-emphasis placed on the duel between the Girondins and the Montagnards while neglecting the great constructive reforms resulting from this struggle.

An intelligently selective critical bibliography adds strength to this book which students new to the field will find a good starting point. (DONALD R. PENN)

HAFEN, LEROY and ANN W. *Old Spanish Trail. Santa Fé to Los Angeles.* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co. 1954. Pp. 377. $9.50.)

This is the first of a projected fifteen-volume series on the Far West and the Rockies. The authors present in a scholarly, highly interesting style the history of the Old Spanish Trail that tied together the frontier outposts of Santa Fe and Los Angeles. These were the days when America was to be had for the taking—and Spain had begun its aggressive colonization in the new country. No one person can be given the honor of opening the Spanish Trail, for it was a folk trail, mastered segment by segment through many years and by many forces. Along its length pushed the padres carrying the cross to the aborigines; breaking paths into the Rockies in search of furs, went the traders and hunters; daring its desert silence, thirst, and danger went the explorers, the trail makers, and the packers. Mountain men, slave catchers, horse thieves, and the Indians of the period live again in these pages. The reports of Kit Carson, famous scout, and Lieutenant George D. Brewerton who went over the old trail together in 1848 are presented, as is the journal of Orville C. Pratt on a confidential mission for the War Department. This was

the longest, crookedest, most arduous pack mule route in American history. Its 1,200 mile route across the mountains, plateaus, and deserts took sixty weary, dangerous days to travel.

Dr. Hafen, one of the best informed of western historians, is also the author of the *Overland Mail, History of Colorado,* and other books, as well as having edited the historical journal, *Colorado Magazine,* for twenty-five years. The story of the Old Spanish Trail will be invaluable to researchers in western history. It is eminently readable for those who like tales of the early days in the West. The book contains a folding colored map of the trail especially prepared, portraits, other illustrations, and an index. It is a superb job in the art of bookmaking. (VELMA NIEBERDING)

HAMILTON, RAPHAEL N., S.J. *The Story of Marquette University. An Object Lesson in the Development of Catholic Higher Education.* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 434. $6.00.)

Today the citizens of Switzerland are pondering the anti-Jesuit laws in force since 1848. These same laws which are now a serious political issue were instrumental in sending exiled priests of the Society of Jesus beyond the borders of their native land to the See of Milwaukee, hallowed by the memory of Jacques Marquette and presided over by the Swiss-born Bishop Martin Henni.

The best told parts of the *Story of Marquette* are the accounts of its early days, with the inevitable problems of finance and the establishment of academic traditions; the glimpse of Marquette's dynamic president, Father Hubert Noonan, in the days after World War I; and the merger of the university itself and the Milwaukee Medical College. The importance of the Catholic medical school can scarcely be overemphasized. Many a Catholic institution of higher learning looks longingly to the day when it may be able to establish its own medical center. As the president of a university with its own medical school, the redoubtable Father Noonan spoke authoritatively on the public moral questions of birth prevention, euthanasia, and therapeutic abortion. It is in this section on the merger of the university and the medical school that this work comes closest to the promise of its sub-title that the Marquette story is an "object lesson."

On the whole, however, this book can scarcely be accepted as a definitive history of the university. It seems rather to be an anniversary volume mixing chronicle, hagiography, apologetics, and downright moralizing in a sort of pot pourri of praise. In its beautiful binding and excellent print the volume is a worthy anniversary number, but it can hardly be regarded as having done justice to the great work of a great university. For example, scarcely any attempt was made to show the university's place in Catholic education or in Catholic thought and theory. Likewise, the chapter entitled "The Jesuit Way in Education" should not be interpreted as typical of the thinking of the priests of the great order which has given so many staunch leaders to Catholic education in the United States. The dichotomy implied between secular and religious knowledge (p. 24) is hardly consonant with the encyclical on Christian education of Pope Pius XI, even though the encyclical itself is quoted.

The source materials used and listed in the appendix of this work betray a similar spirit of isolation and separation from the general stream of Catholic thinking, particularly in the field of education. The volume will, no doubt, serve its purpose as a tribute on the diamond jubilee of Marquette University in 1955; may it serve likewise to spur historians to further research on a great story of a great university. (MARK J. HURLEY)

HASSINGER, HUGO. *Geographische Grundlagen Der Geschichte,* 2nd ed. [Geschichte Führender Völker.] (Freiburg: Verlag Herder. 1953. Pp. xii, 390. D.M. 22.)

This is a revised and enlarged edition of a work first published in 1930 and designed as a geographical introduction to Geschichte Führender Völker, a series of volumes on the cultural and political development of the world as portrayed through the histories of the principal national groups. The original edition has been widely acclaimed, and this revision should be equally well received. Three introductory chapters—Geography and History, Earth and Man, and the Continents of the Old World—are followed by chapters on the cultural and political development of the nations of the world, beginning with ancient Egypt and ending with the European occupation of the new world. A final chapter is devoted to the political geography of the great empires that have dominated the several periods of history.

Professor Hassinger sees the development of each nation as intimately related to its geographical environment. He emphasizes particularly the influence of climate and climatic fluctuations, but natural resources, including soil fertility, are also given a place in explaining the strength and weakness of nations. He shows how the objects of material culture are fashioned from the resources at hand. The author is not, however, a geographical determinist, for he recognizes that the extent to which a given people are able to realize the potentialities of their environmental endowment or compensate for its deficiencies depends on their time in history and their technological development. Nevertheless, he emphasizes that the potentialities of any region, while greater for a more advanced people, are not unlimited. Insofar as man must work within this range of possibilities afforded by nature, the environment has exerted a continuing influence throughout history.

Professor Hassinger has succeeded remarkably well in condensing so broad a topic into a meaningful survey. For those who might wish to pursue a particular aspect further, he has provided a bibliography of over 2,000 titles, including journal articles. Most of them are in German, but few, if any, of the significant works in English are omitted. (KENNETH J. BERTRAND)

HEMPHILL, BASIL, O.S.B. *The Early Vicars Apostolic of England, 1685-1750.* (London: Burns & Oates. 1954. Pp. xi, 190. 18s.)

The sixty-five years covered by this slender volume represent one of the most arid periods in the history of English Catholicism. The blight of the penal

laws, the gradual defection from the faith of more and more Catholic families, the continuing feuds between the secular and regular clergy, and the general feeling of hopelessness that pervaded most of the Catholic body had brought the Church in England by 1750 to a very low point indeed. Dom Hemphill's book covers the period from James II's accession in 1685 and the appointment of three additional vicars apostolic in 1688 to the years immediately following the succession of the great Bishop Richard Challoner at London and Monsignor Christopher Stonor as agent of the English Catholics at Rome. The author has brought to light a number of hitherto unpublished documents from the archives of both the Archdiocese of Westminster and St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, some of which he has printed in full in seven appendices (pp. 155-187). He has likewise provided three illustrations, a map of the four ecclesiastical districts, a list of about twenty books on the period, and an index of two pages.

It is certainly true that the story of English Catholicism in these years is a dreary one, but the reader is left with the impression that Dom Hemphill could have enlivened it more than he has. For example, the extraordinary intrigues of John Stonor and Thomas Strickland to get their heads into mitres (pp. 50-57), and the latter's amazing scheme of June, 1719, to force the Holy See and the English Catholics to come out in support of King George I (pp. 110-111), deserve a more sprightly telling than they receive. The same might be said of the background for the prejudice and suspicion which continued to govern the relations between the secular and regular clery in these years which showed up in such episodes as the efforts of Bishop George Witham of the Northern District to get a coadjutor (pp. 118 ff.). Incidentally, the consecration of John Carroll as Bishop of Baltimore in 1790 was not that of "the first North American bishop" (p. 12). Juan de Zumárraga was consecrated for the Diocese of Mexico as early as 1533 and after the consecration of François de Montmorency de Laval in 1658 at Vicar Apostolic of New France there was an unbroken succession of bishops at Quebec. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

IONGH, JANE DE. *Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands.* Translated by M. D. Herter Norton. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc. 1953. Pp. 256. $4.00.)

This short, readable biography is limited mainly to the political and international aspects of Margaret's life. Her fifty years may be almost evenly divided into two parts, 1480-1506 and 1507-1530, and the author has effectively named them, "The Pawn" and "The Chess Player." The daughter of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy served as a pawn three times in the game of international marriages: to Charles VIII, to Don Juan, and lastly to Philibert of Savoy who died in 1504. Then Margaret asserted her independence. At twenty-six she refused to marry the elderly Henry VII. The following year she was made regent of the Netherlands for Archduke Charles. Margaret now moved the pieces herself upon the board of sixteenth-century politics. Her important victories were the treaties of Cambrai in 1508 and 1529, and the annulling of the Intercursus malus.

What has Jane de Iongh done with the group of three emperors, three dukes of Burgundy, four kings of France, two kings of England, two dukes of Savoy,

the sovereigns of Spain, and others? Sufficient information is given about their ambitions, abilities, or weaknesses without destroying the proportion. In addition there are vivid descriptions of court life in Amboise, Pont d'Ain, and Malines; royal processions, marriages, and feasts; journeys from Ghent to Paris and from Granada through Spain and France to Ghent. The one criticism to be made is to question the giving of both French and English for some forty quotations. This criticism does not include some quotations, such as those which demonstrate Maximilian's "broken French" (pp. 147, 169). (MARY LUCILLE SHAY)

JIMÉNEZ DE QUESADA, GONZALO. *El Antijovio*. Edición dirigida por Rafael Torres Quintero. Estudio preliminar por Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois. Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, X. (Bogotà: Talleres Editoriales de la Librería Voluntad. 1952. Pp. clxxxiv, 637.)

Jiménez de Quesada, the founder of Bogotà and marshall of the New Kingdom of Granada, wrote his controversial book in the new world (in 1569 according to Mr. Ballesteros), but it has nothing to do with the Spanish Indies. When Jiménez, the most erudite of the *conquistadores*, wrote it his mind was far away in Europe, on the battlefields of Italy where many a Spaniard of the armies of the Emperor Charles V had fought, and especially on a celebrated Italian publicist, Paul Jovius (1483-1552), the Bishop of Nocera by appointment of Clement VII, whose *Historias de su tiempo*, which appeared in Spanish translation in 1562 and again in 1563 and 1566, were so anti-Spanish in tone and so unfair in other ways to the Spanish that Jiménez, who himself had fought in the Italian campaign and had already collected materials for a history of the reign of the emperor, felt obliged to prepare a rebuttal. This rebuttal was his *Antijovio*, a title which by itself reveals its polemical nature.

By now, of course, hardly anything more is needed to discredit even further the opinionated prelate. In the sixteenth century both Jiménez and the Portuguese humanist Damião de Gois saw through his great popularity. In our own times Morel-Fatio, Pastor, and Ranke have pretty much buried Jovius as an historian, although he is recognized as a founder (if not the founder) of modern journalism (not because he made mistakes or was tendencious in his reporting but because he concerned himself with the current and exciting). Jiménez' well-placed but heated refutations of the bishop's historical errors sound a little forlorn in an age that has long since forgotten the ordinary of Nocera, but they are important in furnishing us with additional scraps of information on the remarkable reign of the Emperor Charles V. From another point of view, the work makes clear how exceedingly well versed the author was in the art of war, as it also gives us a few more details for his biography, particularly his activities in Italy, his subsequent return to Italy, and his travels in central and northern Europe.

Mr. Ballesteros' introduction is slightly verbose, but it is excellent. There is a "Bibliografía de Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada" by Mr. Torres Quintero, and a list of microfilm copies of manuscripts from the Archivo General de Indias

of Seville that may be consulted in the Archivo Nacional of Bogotà. The Instituto Caro y Cuervo deserves to be warmly congratulated for having made possible the first edition of a book that reveals to us another facet of the personality of the extremely competent marshall of the New Kingdom of Granada. (MANOEL CARDOZO)

KENT, DONALD H. *The French Invasion of Western Pennsylvania, 1753.* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. 1954. Pp. vi, 91.)

The publication in 1952 of the *Papiers Contrecoeur* by Laval University [cf. this REVIEW, XXXIX (October, 1953), 345-346], opened up a treasure house of information on the campaigns of the French in North America in the eighteenth century. Specific application, in English, of these original documents is made by Mr. Kent in his brochure. In this booklet we have a lucid and thorough record of the plans and experiences of the French in their effort to maintain their position in the western hemisphere. In the middle of the eighteenth century France and Great Britain were disputing the ownership of the Ohio River Valley. The French wished to maintain continuity of control between their colonies in Canada and Louisiana, and the Ohio Valley was the most convenient link. The British looked upon the valley as the natural area for their colonies to expand by trade and settlement. The competition of traders and agents of both countries was ineffectual for the security of either nation, so the French determined on an armed invasion to overawe the Indian inhabitants, to occupy the Ohio country, and to fortify its key points.

This French invasion was a major episode in Pennsylvania history, and was a noteworthy stimulus to the French and Indian War, for it was truly the tinder box that activated the clashing of the imperial interests of France and Britain all over the world. The invasion marked the entrance of western Pennsylvania into world history, and became the turning point of Pennsylvania history in the transition from peaceful development to direct involvement in war.

French sources are used almost exclusively for this factual exposition of their plans and exploits. Alterations of original plans for the location of Fort Prêsque Isle and Fort Duquesne are clarified and explained. An elucidation of the duties of the Governor of Canada and the Intendant explains the bewildering overlapping of duties. Copious and exact annotations substantiate each observation and comment of the author. Pertinent illustrations add to the attractiveness of the booklet which is concluded with a chronology of the French Expedition, 1752-1755, a selected bibliography, and a map of the lake region, 1688-1753. Mr. Kent and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission have produced an authoritative, complete, and enlightening exposition of the French invasion of western Pennsylvania in 1753. (FRANCIS A. GLENN)

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